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CONTENTS

MARVIN C. ROSS	5
The Chalice of Sisinius, the Grand Logothete	
CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE III	11
Greek Art in Transition to Late Antiquity: A Portrait of the Antonine Age and the State of Greek Sculpture from A.D. 150 to 300	
R. E. WYCHERLEY	21
Pausanias in the Agora of Athens	
HARRY J. LEON	45
The Greek Inscriptions of the Jews of Rome	
RAY NADEAU	51
Classical Systems of Stases in Greek: Hermagoras to Her- mogenes	

NOTES

CHARLES H. KAHN	73
DANIEL E. GERSHENSON	76
MORTON SMITH	79
Further Notes on <i>A Jewish-Gnostic Amulet of the Roman Period</i>	



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THE CHALICE OF SISINIOS,
THE GRAND LOGOTHETE

MARVIN C. ROSS

AMONG THE MANY SUPERB BYZANTINE WORKS OF ART in the treasury of Saint Mark's in Venice is a chalice especially satisfying because of the combination of materials used and the general elegance of its proportions. The body of the chalice is chalcedony, carved very simply, yet the proportions are of such perfection that the chalice seems almost to have been wrought by magic. The mounting in silver is kept to the minimum and the artist's emphasis given to the beauty of lines on the handles, the lip, and especially on the delicate base.

The chalice is well known and has been published a number of times, but never with a reproduction of an actual photograph, combined with the actual date of the chalice; only a lithograph¹ or an outline drawing in such instances. New photographs recently authorized by the authorities of Saint Mark's justify calling attention to this superb chalice once again and pointing out that it is one of the securely dated objects of art surviving from the tenth century. The chalice is of particular interest in that, unlike so many Byzantine objects of art, it can be placed and dated within a very few years. There are two Greek inscriptions on it, the first a phrase from the Mass, used frequently on Byzantine chalices, "Christ gave his blood to bring life." The second is a prayer for the donor, "Lord, help Sisinius, patrician and general logothete."

Now we know precisely who this Sisinius was. The two texts through which he was first identified by Gustav Schlumberger,² are from the *Life of the Emperor Romanos II*, by Theophanes Continuatus and Simon Magister. Professor Glanville Downey has kindly translated them, "And the protospatharios Sisinius, the former sacellarius, he appointed prefect of the city, a worthy man, respected by the people, whom

¹See A. Pasini, *Il Tesoro di San Marco in Venezia* (Venice, 1886), 59, Pl. XLII, no. 85. J. Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance* (Paris, 1923), 66 and fig. 26. Pasini published a lithograph and Bréhier used a dark photograph saying the chalice had been made for Sisinius, patrician and logothete, but does not give the precise dates. Only Schlumberger (see n. 2) gives the precise information about the chalice but he used only a line engraving.

²G. Schlumberger, *Un emperor byzantine au dixième siècle, Nicéphore Phocas* (Paris, 1890), 21.

he promoted to patricius and general logothete a little later; and instead of him, he appointed prefect of the city Theodore Daphnates, the former general. This Sisinius adorned the prefectship with his equity and justice . . ."³ The text of Simon Magister reads in translation, ". . . and the protospatharios Sisinius, the former sacellarius, he appointed prefect of the city, and a short time thereafter patricius and general logothete . . ."⁴ It is not likely that another Sisinius was both patricius and general logothete in the tenth century, to which we must ascribe the chalice, and so we can safely say that the Sisinius named on the inscription was the same person who was named prefect of the city by Romanus II, and shortly after, patricius and general logothete, or grand treasurer of the empire.

Romanus II reigned only a few short years as sole emperor, A.D. 959-963. Since the second combination of titles given to Sisinius by Romanus II appear in the inscription on the chalice, we can date it in the latter part of the emperor's reign, rather than the earlier. The chalice may well have been an offering made by Sisinius in thanksgiving for the high position to which he was raised. It is not likely and there is no evidence that Sisinius continued in the capacity of general logothete under the succeeding emperor, Nicephorus Phocas (963-969). Therefore, we can date the chalice between 959 and 963, and probably toward the later years of that time.

The many chalices and patens in Saint Mark's made of hard stones mounted in gold, or in silver, the gold and silver sometimes set with stones, or enamelled, attest the popularity of the media for liturgical vessels during the middle Byzantine period. One text is interesting in the connection and I cite it here, since it has never before been brought into the literature on objects of art. This is from the *Vita S. Euthymii* written in the first half of the tenth century, wherein is told the death of

³ Theophanes Continuatus, *De Romano Constantini Porphyrogeniti Filio* (Bonn), 470, 3ff.

⁴ Simon Magister, *De Romano Constantini Porphyrogeniti Filio* (Bonn), 757, 13ff.



FIGURE 1

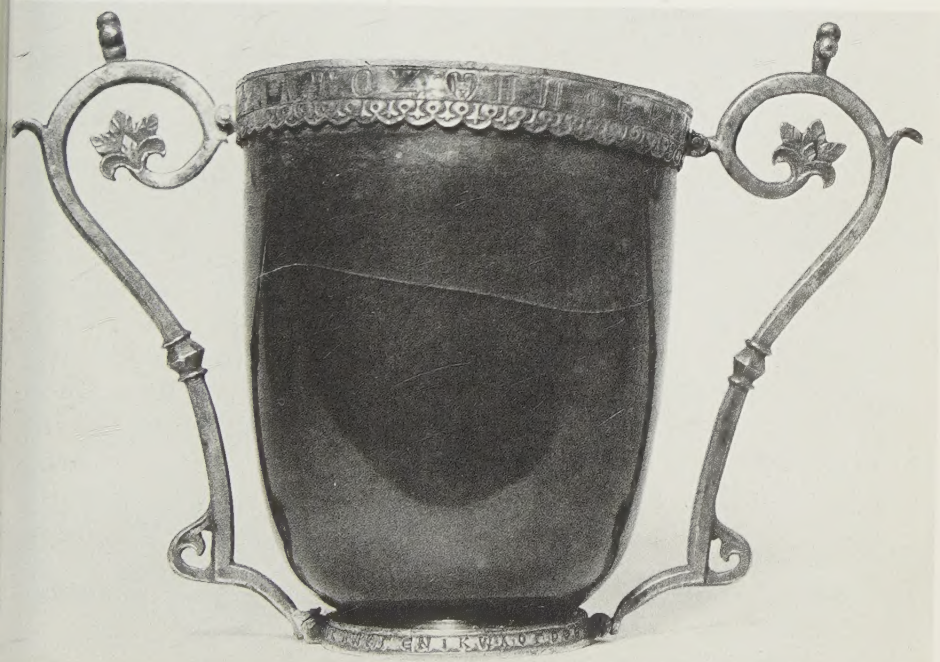
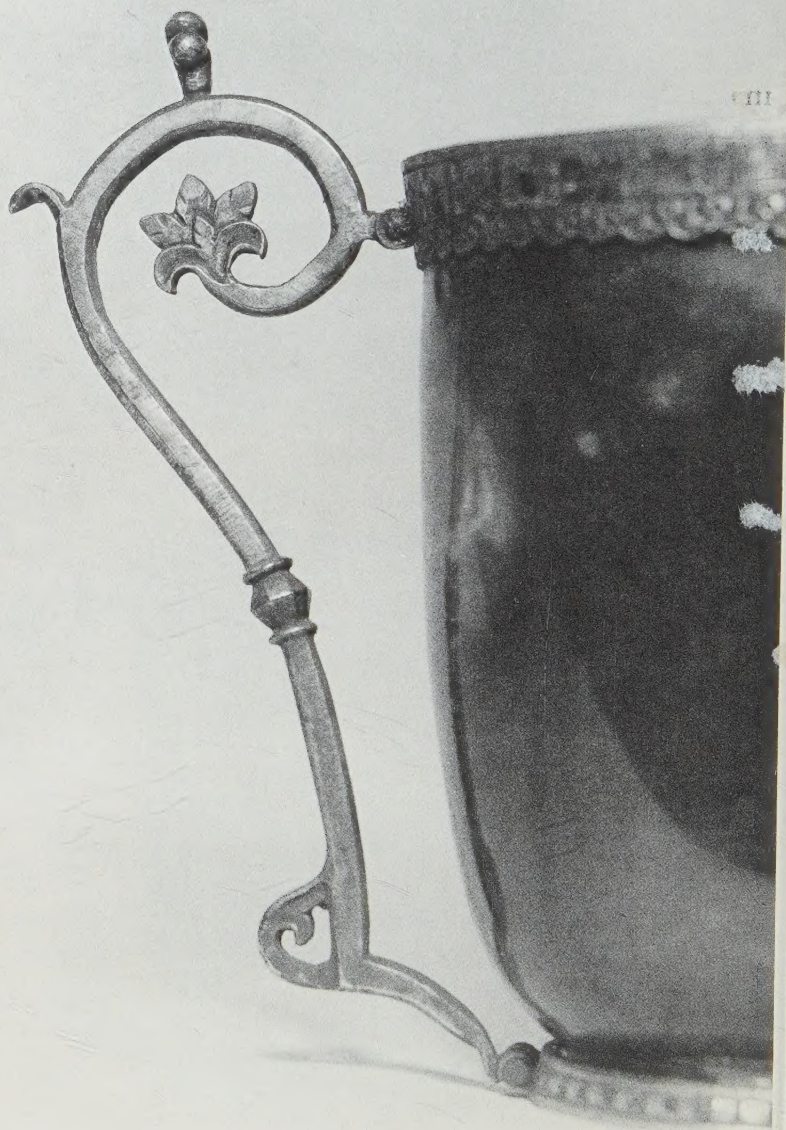


FIGURE 2

VENICE, SAINT MARK'S. CHALICE



VENICE. SAINT MARK'S. CHALICE. DETAIL OF HANDLE

the Empress Theophano and her gifts to Euthymius in gratitude for his sympathy and support during her difficulties with her husband, Leo VI (886-812). "It was the month of November [897], and the Empress Theophano of sacred memory was in the Church of God's Mother at Blachernae, being nursed, and there she called Father Euthymius, and was relating all her concerns to him till that most compassionate of men was . . . tears, and said to her, 'This, my mistress and honoured Lady Theophano, is my last farewell. Never again in this life will you see my humble self, but if your voice is heard, as I hope, remember also this least of men.' Then this worthy queen took from her chest and gave him sacred vessels made of jaspers, as well as the cloths that covered them, which she had adorned with the father's name woven in gold. With these she gave the scarf she wore in church on her head and shoulders, . . . giving it by way of *ex-voto*. And these same sacred vessels the emperor [Leo VI] later asked for and had brilliantly decorated, afterwards sending them back to the father."⁵

From this act of the Emperor Leo VI, we can see that such jasper vessels as were given by his Empress just before her death to the Patriarch Euthymius were valued for liturgical use, and further that it was considered appropriate to adorn them with gems and precious metal.

From the time of Romanus II and the immediately succeeding reign we have a number of superb works of art—the ivory of Romanus and his empress Eudokia in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris,⁶ the reliquary of the True Cross in gold, silver, and enamel made for Basil the Proedrus, now in Limbourg,⁷ as well as the chalice and paten now in Saint Mark's that was made for the same Basil.⁸ It has been our custom to study Byzantine art vertically—from century to century—or in

⁵P. Karlin-Hayter, "Vita S. Euthymii," *Byzantion*, 25-26 (1955, 1956, 1957), 1-172, esp. 51.

⁶H. Pierce and R. Tyler, "Deux monuments dans l'art byzantine du X siècle," *Arethuse* (1927), 129-135.

⁷*Das Münster* (1955), 8, heft 7-8, pp. 201-240.

⁸Schlumberger, *op cit.*, 291-293.

groups of objects, made of the same material, as for example, ivories or manuscripts. Perhaps we now have enough safely dated objects to warrant horizontal study, i.e. the studying of objects made in the same period, no matter of what material. This method of study might cast new light on Byzantine art, enabling us to understand more about it than by the methods we have used. Looking anew at this chalice of unusual elegance and beauty, so very much of its time and so closely related to other objects datable to the reign of Romanus II, points out the need of studies of Byzantine art by periods to lead us to greater understanding and appreciation.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

GREEK ART IN TRANSITION
TO LATE ANTIQUITY

A Portrait of the Antonine Age
and the State of Greek Sculpture
from A.D. 150 to 300

CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE III

Edward Perry Warren, collector, connoisseur and lover of things Greek, died thirty years ago, on the twenty-eighth of December 1928. Barely a month before his death he presented the portrait head published here to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. The collection of Greek art, sculpture, vases, gems and coins, in Boston is one of Warren's lifelong achievements and perhaps the greatest memorial to his humanism. Publication for the first time of one of Warren's last gifts provides a fitting way to honor his memory on the thirtieth anniversary of his passing.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PORTRAIT FROM
E. P. WARREN'S COLLECTION

THE HEAD is typical of the things Warren collected and kept about him (Plates 3 and 4). It is a nearly half-lifesized portrait of a young man who lived about A.D. 155, in the Antonine era of the Roman Empire.¹ The man's features, combined with the style of carving in hair and face, suggest he was a Greek, and the marble appears to be Pentelic, of the quality used for the best sculpture from the workshops of Attica. The head has been broken from a statue and is badly damaged. In fact, the way the eyes have been carefully gouged out points to a deliberate and definite *damnatio* at some time in antiquity or the Middle Ages. In spite of all this, the head is a work of compelling quality and considerable beauty. These were characteristics which Warren sought in examples of Greek art of all periods.

The head is carved in the round, and no part is less emphasized than any other. This is an important point in dealing with underlifesized heads which might otherwise come from large reliefs or sarcophagi, such as those of the Sidamara type. The quality of the portrait lies in the techniques of carving: a combination of minuteness and use of the expansive idioms of Greek or Asiatic work in the Antonine Baroque period. These techniques show in the partly carved, partly drilled hair, in the incised lines for the suggestions of sideburns, and in the deep, decisive carving of wrinkles between the eyebrows, the lines around the eyelids, and the line of the closed lips. Where remaining, the surface of the flesh has the hard polish peculiar to Antonine portraits, a surface finishing seen often in likenesses of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus and Commodus. This hard polish emphasizes the broad face, high cheekbones, and firm

¹Acc. no. 28.861; H.: 5 3/4 in. (0.145m.). Listed in the *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, 26 (1928), 113. I wish to thank Miss Hazel Palmer for help with several points and Mr. Edward J. Moore for making the photographs reproduced here. He devoted considerable time and effort to rephotographing the Warren head.

jaw of the sitter. No other portraits of the man are known, and for the present he must remain anonymous.

STYLISTIC PARALLELS FROM THE GREEK IMPERIAL WORLD

Several other Antonine portraits confirm the suggestion that the subject came from the Greek portions of the Empire. They also show similar techniques of carving. They are:

1. Bust of a young man of Greek origin, with curly hair and a slight beard; London, British Museum, perhaps from Cyrene.²
2. Bust of a young man, very like the previous; London, Sir John Soane's Museum. The bust was brought from Athens in the mid-eighteenth century by James "Athenian" Stuart and later belonged to Robert Adam the architect. A third bust, closely related to these two, is also said to have been found in Athens and is now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen.³
3. Bust of G. Volcacius Myropnous (sic!); Ostia Museum, from the necropolis of Isola Sacra. Ostia had a large foreign colony, and a number of portraits from this region document the introduction of Greek and Graeco-Asiatic styles into the area of Rome.⁴

²Cat. no. 1910: R. Hinks, *Greek and Roman Portrait-Sculpture* (London, 1935), 30, pl. 37, as from Cyrene; A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture*, 3 (London, 1904), 163f., with no indication of provenience.

³F. Poulsen, *Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Houses* (Oxford, 1923), 96, no. 84; *Archaeology*, 6 (1953), 73, fig. For the bust in Copenhagen: F. Poulsen, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture* (Copenhagen, 1951), 331, no. 464.

⁴*Roman Portrait Busts*, The Arts Council of Great Britain (London, 30 Oct.-28 Nov. 1953), no. 47, with commentary by J.M.C. Toynbee; G. Calza, *La necropoli del Porto di Roma nell' Isola Sacra* (Rome, 1940), 225. The name of the sitter is inscribed in Greek on a small plaque at the base of the bust; Calza terms the marble Greek. A. Hekler saw Myropnous in a bust of "Marcus Aurelius" in Boston (Acc. no. 24.419; *Archäologischer Anzeiger* [1933], col. 398; *ibid.* [1932], col. 471, fig. 7), showing how close such portraits could come to contemporary imperial fashions.

4. Bust of a man with a short beard; London, Sir John Soane's Museum. The provenience and manner of acquisition are the same as number two. He wears a chiton and a himation, wrapped in the manner of so-called philosopher statues of the Greek fourth century B.C., such as the prototype of the Lateran Sophocles.⁵

CLASSICAL GREEK ANTECEDENTS OF THE WARREN HEAD

The head presented by E. P. Warren to the Museum of Fine Arts leads us to a number of observations on the state of Greek sculpture in the century and a half from Antoninus Pius to Constantine the Great. The statue from which the head came portrayed the sitter with his head turned noticeably to his own right; the incised pupils of the eyes looked upwards and in the same direction, completing the sense of emotion which is so much a part of the Baroque qualities in Antonine sculpture. The shape of his head and the adherence of the hair in a thick mass to the cap of the skull suggest the subject might have been represented as a Greek demi-god or hero, as one of the Dioskouroi, as Meleager, as Hippolytus or the like. Figures from these mythological cycles were popular on Attic sarcophagi in the Antonine period.

The general cast of the head shows how strongly the canons of Greek athletic art affected Greek portraiture in the Roman Empire, six hundred years after the scientific masters Myron and Polykleitos. An inviting comparison emerges when we place the portrait alongside a Greek athletic head of 460 to 450 B.C. and in the style of Myron. A lifesized marble head, perhaps from a pediment, formerly

⁵ Poulsen, *op. cit.*, p. 95, no. 82. B. Ashmole long ago corrected the notion perpetuated in Poulsen's text that the Stuart busts in the Soane Museum were of Romano-British origin: see *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 44 (1924), 134. One of them has been identified as Polydeukes, the favorite of Herodes Atticus and somewhat of a later rival to Antinous in the honors which he received; all busts of Polydeukes of this type have been found in Greece, most of them in Athens itself: *American Journal of Archaeology*, 58 (1954), 255; 60 (1956), 342f. and bibliography. For Stuart and N. Revett in Athens (1751-1753), see J. Landy, *Archaeology*, 9 (1956), 252-259.

in the collection of Professor Vladimir Simkhovitch and now in Boston, provides just such a comparison⁶ (Plate 5). The sculptural technique is purer, and the directness of form is more evident in the Myronian head than in the Antonine creation, but the latter stands up well alongside its ancestor in relationship of volume to surface detail and in the decisive treatment of that detail. Like the Antonine portrait, the head from the circle of Myron has suffered much at the hands of time and human intent, the latter having provided the face with a restored nose, of which only the ugly dowelhole remains. Parallels could also be found for the classical antecedents of the portrait among the Greek fourth-century successors of Myronian and Polykleitan sculpture of the fifth century B.C. In this respect one can call to mind a head in the collection of the late Professor David M. Robinson and said to have come from the island of Rhodes. This head represents an early Hellenistic continuation of the athletic art developed in the early fourth century from mid-fifth century styles.⁷

REDUCED-SCALE COPIES OF GREEK STATUES IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

The small size of the Warren head is a rare but not unique occurrence in Greek statuary under the Roman Empire. Copies of lifesized Greek masterpieces were made on all scales down to miniature bronzes during all periods of Graeco-Roman art. A bronze Herakles attributed to Myron, for instance, is well known from three marble copies about two feet in height; the best of these, dated on account of the complexity of the support in the Hadrianic or Antonine periods, is in the Museum of Fine Arts and belonged to E. P. Warren at the time it was exhibited at the Burlington Fine

⁶Acc. no. 51.1404; H.: 11 1/8 in. (0.282m.). G. H. Chase, *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, 50 (1952), 8-10; V. G. Simkhovitch, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 50 (1946), 83f., fig. 2.

⁷D. M. Robinson, *Anatolian Studies Presented to W. H. Buckler* (Manchester, 1939), 260ff. pls. VIIIff., and parallels.



BOSTON. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS. PORTRAIT OF A
YOUNG MAN. ANTONINE PERIOD, C. A.D. 155



ANOTHER VIEW OF THE PREVIOUS

Arts Club exhibition of Greek art in 1903.⁸ Half-lifesized portrait statues become more common in the Antonine than in any earlier period of Roman art. In this age artists throughout the Empire were experimenting in new combinations of traditional forms of Greek art. Eclective compositions in painting, relief, coin reverses, and gem designs can be documented on a wide scale.⁹ The Pergamene phase of Hellenistic art, from c. 250 to 125 B.C. and later, was particularly suited to the humanistic temper of the Empire in the years when peace seemed the firmest but when wars on the eastern and northern frontiers foreshadowed the disturbances and dark days of the third century A.D.¹⁰

The few examples cited here of Antonine portrait heads carved on copies mechanical or otherwise of Greek works of the fifth century and later give no indication of the great number of such statues preserved in the collections of Europe and America. Statues of Asklepios, of Herakles, of the Capitoline or Medici Aphrodites, of Zeus standing or seated, and even of Omphale were adapted as portraits, the mythological or funerary connotations often being obscured for the modern viewer by the evident lack of taste. Portrait groups of all sizes could show an Antonine Emperor and his consort as the fifth-century Ares Borghese and the Praxitelean Aphrodite of Capua.¹¹ In the transition from mythological to historical presentation, a half-lifesized statue found at Antalya or Adalia (ancient Attaleia near Aspendus and Side on the Pamphylian coast) and now in the Archaeological Museum at Istanbul shows an emperor in *sagum*, tunic and boots, a

⁸L. D. Caskey, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1925), 133ff., no. 64; G. H. Chase, *Greek and Roman Antiquities. A Guide to the Classical Collection* (Boston, 1950), 55, fig. 65; G. Hafner, *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1952), cols. 86-102, with full bibliography.

⁹*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 77 (1957), 293-299.

¹⁰G. Kleiner, *Das Nachleben des Pergamenischen Gigantenkampfes*, 105 Winkelmannsprogramm (Berlin, 1949), *passim*; J. W. Salomonson, *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen*, 38 (1957), 15-44.

¹¹B. M. Felletti Maj, *Museo Nazionale Romano, I ritratti* (Rome, 1953), 119f., no. 236 and bibliography.

cuirass surmounted by a helmet as support at his left leg. The emperor has been identified by some as the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, as he appeared c. A.D. 175. If not the philosopher-emperor, who ordered his officers to put aside the cuirass for the *sagum* whenever possible,¹² the statue is that of one of Marcus Aurelius' lieutenants, who affected the hair style and dress of his commander. Treatment of richly carved and drilled hair and beard, and polish of the smooth portions of the face, are similar to those features encountered in the Antonine head published here.¹³

The technical device of reducing a lifesized statue to half size was probably dictated by the desire to set the statue in the niche of a small nymphaeum, in a shrine in a wealthy household (in periods and areas when or where it was politic to have the imperial image about), or in the apse of a small public building. In these respects it is interesting to note that the statue from Antalya is carved out only in a summary fashion at the back. A small statue of the Phrygian Zeus Sabázios on horseback, from near Istanbul and among the antiquities bequeathed to the Museum of Fine Arts by Thomas Whittemore, is likewise carved to be seen from the front only and furthermore has a crescent-shaped plinth to echo the apsidal niche for which it was designed. The statue was carved in the period A.D. 150 to 250 and has all the characteristics of Anatolian Greek religious sculpture in the transition to the Christian era of the Empire.¹⁴

Location, then, as well as architectural dimensions dictated the types of techniques applied by copyists, portraitists and sculptural innovators in the Antonine period. The architects of the second century A.D. were probably more conscious than any of their classical predecessors of the group *setting* as well as the individual containment of ancient sculpture. The

¹²*Hist. Aug., Vita Marci* xxvii; L. M. Wilson, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 7 (1929), 169ff.; *American Journal of Archaeology*, 60 (1956), 316.

¹³G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures*, 3 (Constantinople, 1914), 600ff., no. 1390; M. Wegner, *Die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1939), 176.

¹⁴Res. 53.63; *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, 56 (1958), 69-76.

mentality of copyism, with its switch from gods, heroes and athletes to portraits in the nude, in armor or in civic dress, well served the designers of large-scale city gates such as those at Perge and Side, stagelike complexes such as the nymphaeum in the marketplace at Miletus, or the complex imperial and family nymphaeum put up by Herodes Atticus along the precinct at Olympia at the height of the Antonine period. We have spoken of the service of small-scale sculpture to architecture; in the light of architectural examples such as those discussed in this paragraph, we must now consider the services of heroic and colossal sculpture to colossal architecture.

LARGE-SCALE GREEK IMPERIAL SCULPTURE

It is not in the tenseness of Baroque sculpture in miniature but in the drama of Pergamene, Rhodian and Alexandrine art on a giant scale and in colossal proportions that the Antonine and Severan periods made contributions to the perpetuation and diffusion of Greek sculpture under Roman patronage. We know from such works as the Farnese Hercules signed by the Greek copyist Glykon of Athens, the Farnese Bull copying a Rhodian-Pergamene work of about 100 B.C., the Dioscuri of Monte Cavallo based ultimately on the West Pediment of the Parthenon, and the Jovian seated Constantinus Magnus of the Basilica in the Forum Romanum (to cover the period A.D. 185 to 315), that colossal sculpture thrived in response to the Herculean architectural undertakings of the Later Empire. In Rome these included the Severan Baths, the Severan Sarapeum, Aurelian's *Templum Solis*, Diocletian's Baths, and the Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine. We are accustomed to say that Greek athletic art ceases with the Antonine period. The colossal Alexander Severus in Naples, a portrait of c. A.D. 235 on a Polykleitan body,¹⁵ or the Traianus Decius as Mars in the Palazzo dei Conservatori,

¹⁵B. M. Felletti Maj, *Iconografia romana imperiale, Quaderni e guide di archeologia*, 2 (Rome, 1958), 95, no. 22, pl. V, 12.

a good Greek copy of c. A.D. 250,¹⁶ provide datable examples of Greek sculptural tradition continuing almost to the Christian century of imperial Rome. The Greek sculptural tradition was certainly present in many anonymous copies of older works, which force of habit and misunderstanding of Greek artistic vitality have dated in the first rather than the second two centuries of the Empire.

CONCLUSION

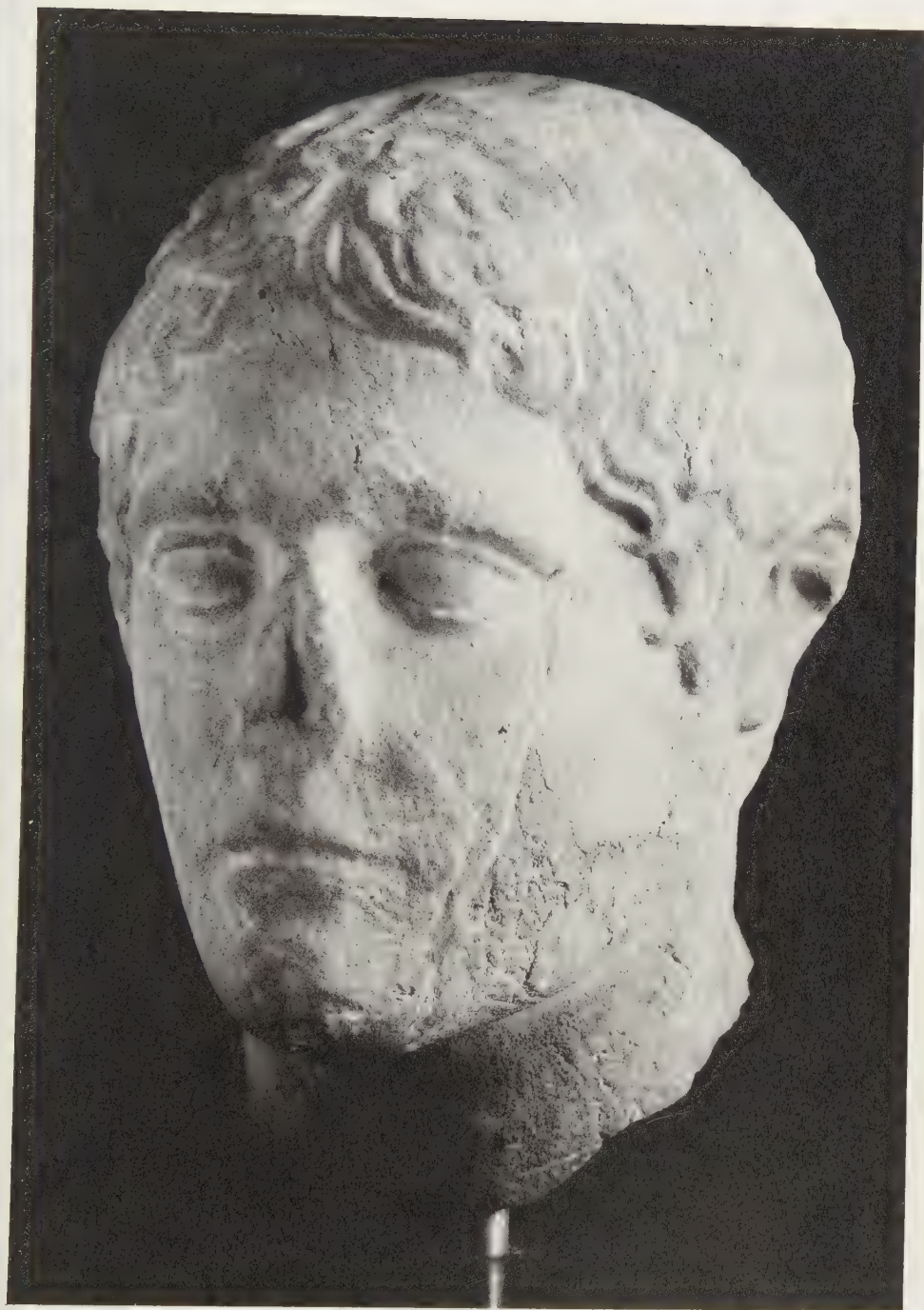
The Greek sculptural tradition lived with all its force into the fourth century in gem cutting, coin design, architectural ornament, and even in mosaic work. That the artistic vocabulary of Late Antiquity developed in Attic, Asiatic and Italian sarcophagi of the third century A.D. is an accepted principal of modern archaeological criticism. Accustomed as we are to judging Greek art under the Roman Empire by standards formulated for the period 450 to 50 B.C., we can easily overlook the continuing vitality of conservative Greek sculptural traditions in an age when sarcophagi and emotionally inspired portraits catch our literary fancies. The portrait published here has many characteristics of the Antonine period. Combined with these we find a traditional approach to the human form which can be traced as far back as the mid-fifth century B.C., when the human figure was emerging as a developed scientific factor in classical representation.

That a head so battered can retain so much beauty speaks for the abilities of the anonymous Greek artist of the Antonine period. That the head can be brought to our notice as a document of Greek art in transition to Late Antiquity is due to the discerning eye and material generosity of Edward Perry Warren, to whom ancient Greece was "a civilization which in its strong fineness and disciplined vigour he held to be the best answer yet given to the problem of life".¹⁷

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

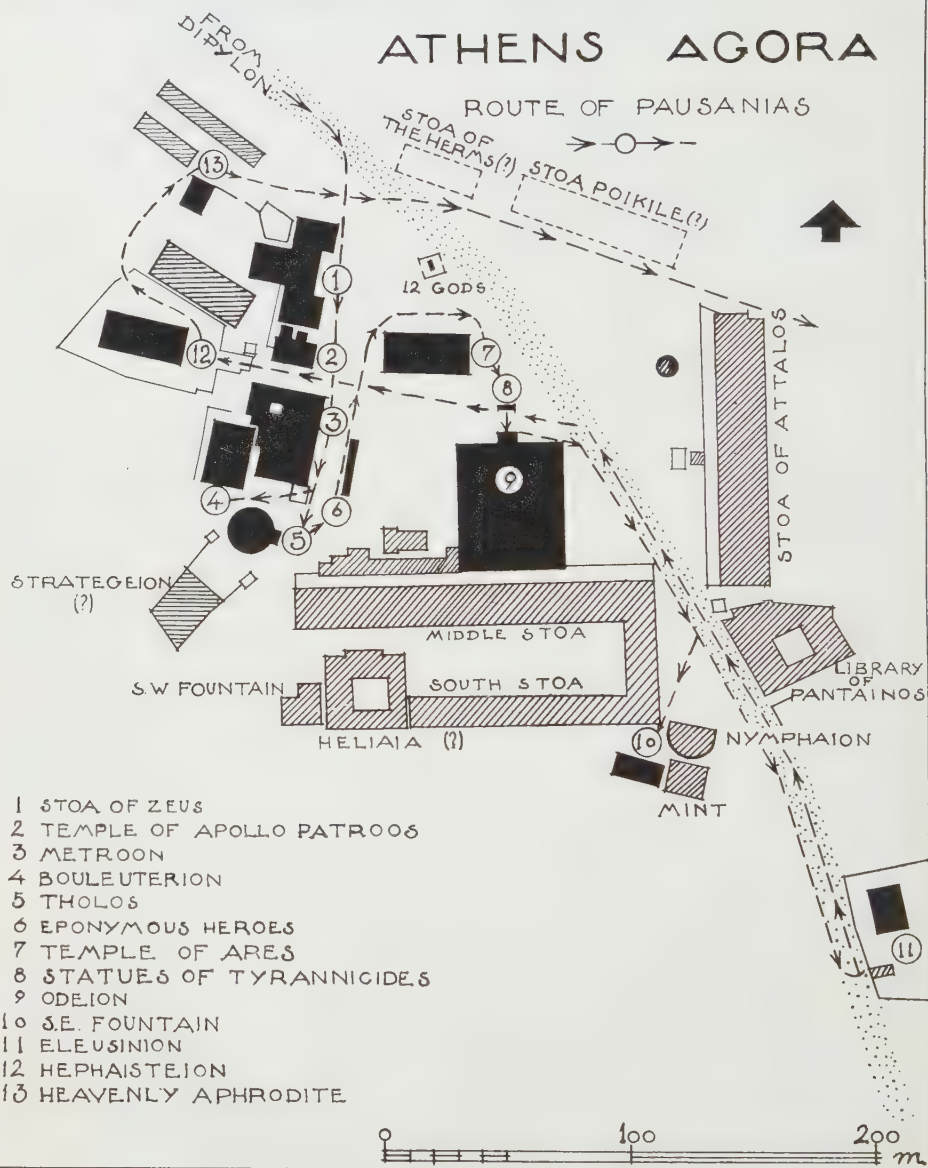
¹⁶B. M. Felletti Maj, *op. cit.*, 188, no. 234, pl. XXX, 93-94.

¹⁷Quoted from a tribute by J. D. Beazley, *The Times* (London, 7 Jan. 1929); reprinted in *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, 27 (1929), 30.



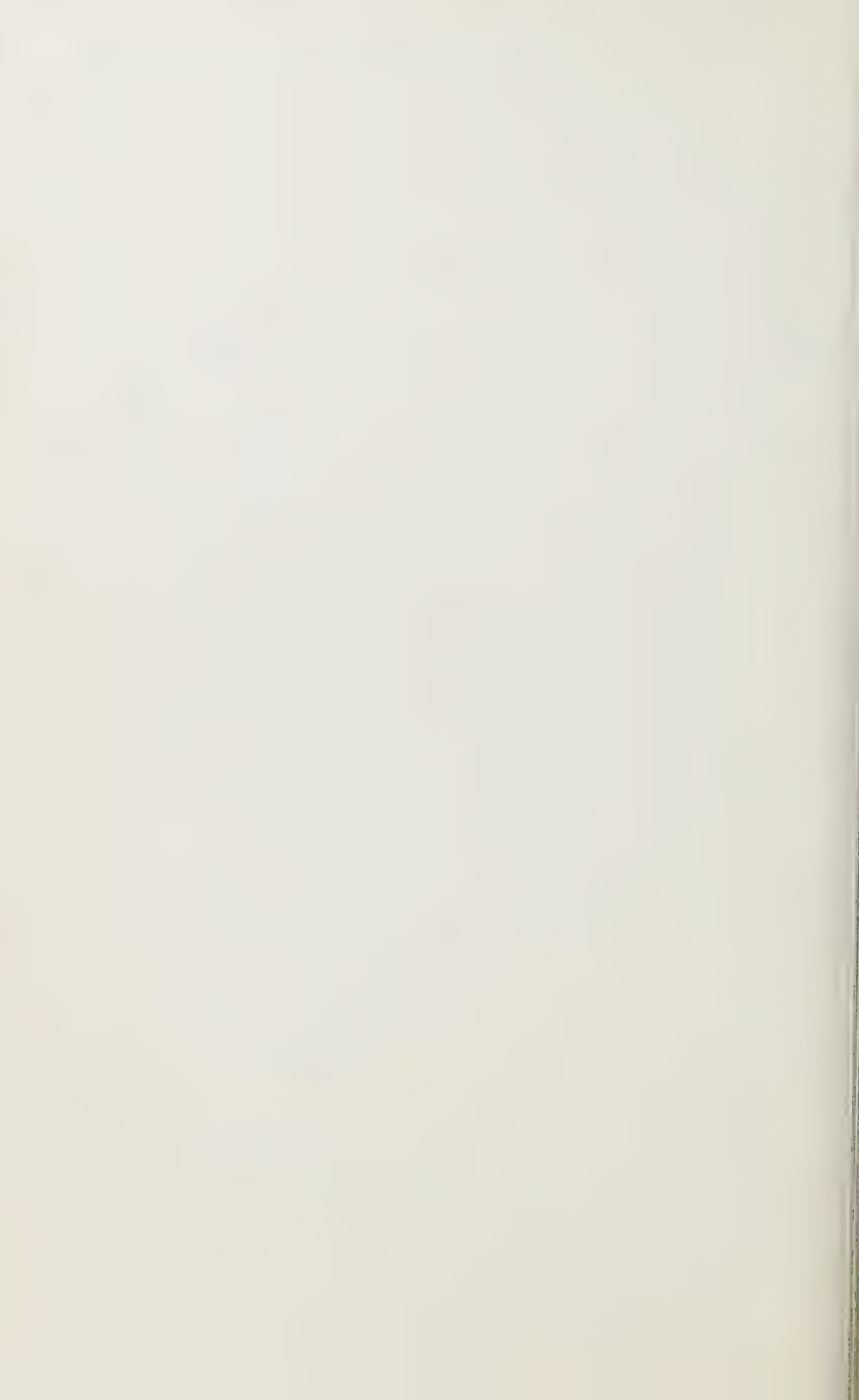
BOSTON. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS. HEAD OF A YOUTH
(PERHAPS FROM A PEDIMENT). GREEK. C. 460-450 B.C.

ATHENS AGORA



PAUSANIAS IN THE AGORA OF ATHENS

R. E. WYCHERLEY



PAUSANIAS' ROUTE IN THE AGORA was worked out fully and satisfactorily by E. Vanderpool in *Hesperia*, Vol. 18, pp. 128ff. The probable identification of Pausanias' Enneakrounos as the south-eastern rather than the south-western fountain house subsequently produced a modification which made for greater simplicity and clarity. I accept in all essentials the emended route-line as given in the plan published in the agora *Guide* and in *Athenian Agora*, Vol. III¹; I merely offer a few comments on Pausanias' methods and on certain particular problems.

As each new site described by Pausanias is excavated and its topography largely determined, users of his periegesis can gain an increasingly clear idea of his value and his limitations, his modes of procedure and the way in which his evidence should be used. Few sites have been more revealing than the Athenian agora. The form of the agora of Roman Corinth too has emerged clearly in recent years, and offers an interesting comparison. These are the only two great city centres of ancient Greece described fully by Pausanias which can also be fully reconstructed on paper from the archaeological material.

It is now startlingly evident that no reconstruction even approaching completeness and correctness could have been made on the basis of Pausanias' description alone, or even with the help of other literary authorities. Not only were there very large gaps but the whole character of the agora as it was in Pausanias' time, at Athens as at Corinth, was effectively concealed. To glance at Corinth first, the complicated and impressive architectural scheme of the Roman agora was revealed by excavation only.² The surrounding colonnades and basilicas, the "upper agora" to the south and the "lower agora" to

¹*The Athenian Agora, A Guide to the Excavations* (Athens, 1954), 86 fig. 14; *The Athenian Agora*, Vol. 3, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* (Princeton, 1957), Plate IV (called *Agora III* below). I should like to thank Professor Homer Thompson, Professor Eugene Vanderpool, and other colleagues at Athens and at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, for useful information and discussion.

² See the architectural-topographical volumes of *Corinth*, especially I, iii, *The Lower Agora*, by R.L. Scranton, (1951); and I, iv, *The South Stoa*, by O. Broeneer, (1955).

the north, divided by a long row of shops and public buildings, the magnificent and ingeniously constructed South Stoa completing and dominating the Roman agora as it had dominated the Greek, might not have existed as far as Pausanias is concerned. He passes by or through all this in silence as not worth mention, being neither of religious significance nor amongst the remains of antiquity. He singles out the shrines of Artemis and Dionysos, which because they are atoms in the void are impossible to locate, before passing on to the row of temples on the west side of the agora, where the sequence of his description makes identification reasonably sure.³ His procedure is similar at Athens, but it leads to less wholesome omissions and enables him to give a much fuller picture of the agora.

One need not blame Pausanias or criticize his description as inadequate. He is doing just what he set out to do. His interests are mainly religious and antiquarian, and he does in fact pick out, unerringly as a rule, the things which on these principles are most worth mentioning. Long colonnades enclosing the agora were for him merely its setting, to be taken for granted and walked through in silence unless they contained notable works of art. But one cannot help regretting that he did not feel moved at Athens or Corinth to give some coherent general idea of the architectural character of the site. It might have prevented many misconceptions and false reconstructions. He does attempt something of the kind occasionally, as at Elis, where he gives an enlightening note on the distinction between the old-fashioned and Ionian types of agora.⁴

At Athens he enters the agora at the northwest corner, and looking across the square he would see the great two-storeyed stoa of Attalos enclosing the east side and the vast "middle stoa" running across the south side, with the Odeion set against it and forming the dominant centre piece of the whole agora, like a temple in a Roman forum. He gives no general impression of all this but turns at once to a minute examination of the older and more modest monuments on the

³ 2. 2. 6-8.

⁴ 6. 24. 2.

west side. At 1.14.1 he must have seen and possibly passed through the complex of stoas which from the second century B.C. made a separate square of the southern part of the agora, but he says nothing of it. All this, including the very existence of the "middle stoa", one of the largest buildings in Athens, would have been unknown but for the excavations. Pausanias does mention the Odeion, briefly and incidentally in connection with the statues; not unnaturally it was given a comparatively modest and unobtrusive place in earlier attempts to reconstruct the agora. These reconstructions were apt to go very badly wrong, partly because of the vagueness of Pausanias' indication of the relation of one monument to another, but even more so because too much was expected of the literary authorities and of Pausanias in particular. The agora had in fact undergone two revolutionary changes in its architectural form, one in the second century B.C. and one in the time of Augustus. Even the most carefully reconstructed plan, that of Judeich (Abb. 43, p. 344), besides inevitably showing many monuments in the wrong place, gives the whole agora the kind of form, open and loosely knit, which it had at a much earlier stage.

In spite of his ignoring these later developments, Pausanias is still undoubtedly describing the agora as he himself saw it in Roman imperial times. He has been entirely vindicated against the charge that he relies mainly on an earlier writer, e.g. Polemon. An additional piece of evidence in his favor provided by the excavations is that in his account the temple of Ares falls into the place to which it was transferred from an unknown site in the time of Augustus.⁵

These limitations of Pausanias one has to accept with a good grace, as the result of his legitimate interests. One can only criticize his omissions if they involve things which on his own criteria are interesting and important, or if his account is mismanaged or confused or misleading.

On the whole it may be said that he covers the ground thoroughly and attains a remarkable degree of completeness,

⁵ *Hesperia*, 9 (1940), 47.

considering the complexity of the site, the large number of monuments, and the fact that at the very beginning of his work he is attempting one of his most difficult tasks. Omissions which call for comment are few. He does not mention the Leokorion, the shrine of the daughter of Leos; but though it was known to Cicero and remained famous through antiquity, it is just possible that it no longer existed in his time. He introduces the story of the daughters of Leos in another context, after mentioning their father among the Eponymoi.⁶ He says nothing of the hero-shrine of Aiakos, mentioned by Herodotus (though he was interested in the parent shrine at Aigina⁷); this has been tentatively identified with an *eschara* or ground-altar of suitable date found just south of the Twelve Gods; and this monument certainly went out of use and was invisible long before Pausanias' time.⁸ Other absentees from his list are Zeus Agoraios, whose altar may be the large structure east of the Eponymoi⁹; the Herms, which formed an important feature of the northern part of the agora¹⁰; and the tiny shrine of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria inserted between the buildings of the west side—perhaps it had nothing about it “worth seeing” and noting.¹¹ At the Tholos he merely says that the presidents sacrifice, and does not mention the notable cults, Artemis Boulaia and Phosphoros and the Phosphoroi.¹² On the Kolonos he misses the shrine of Eurysakes.¹³

⁶ 1. 5. 2; perhaps he is content to leave it at that. For the plentiful evidence for the Leokorion see *Agora* III, 108ff. The shrine has not been located by the excavations; possibly it was on the unexplored north side (*ibid.*, 113). A small round building shown in plans of remains found by the German Archaeological Institute in the bed of the railway, west of the XII Gods Altar, may just possibly belong to it (I owe this suggestion to Mr. J. Travlos and Professor Homer Thompson).

⁷ 2. 29. 6-8.

⁸ *Hesperia*, 22 (1953), 45 n. 28.

⁹ *Hesperia*, 21 (1952), 92.

¹⁰ See p. 39 below.

¹¹ *Agora* III, 52.

¹² *Ibid.*, 55ff.

¹³ See n. 16.

His most surprising omission is the famous altar of the Twelve Gods, but that may be partly accounted for.¹⁴

It has been noted that in Book I Pausanias was tentatively working out methods of covering the ground and of describing sequences of sites and monuments. "The explanation of the defects of the *Attica* is that the author was finding himself in his new work, and had not altogether arrived at a definite plan."¹⁵ There is some truth in this as regards his treatment of Attica and of the city of Athens as a whole. After he has left the agora, he attempts to deal with the rest of Athens, except the Acropolis, by means of two excursions based on the Prytan-eion; the result is not altogether satisfactory, and some interesting quarters are not included at all.¹⁶ But his agora tour is based on a sound principle, which with one or two slight complications works out well in practice.

Very few monuments in the agora can be identified outright, beyond the possibility of dispute by the most determined sceptic. Identifications to a certain extent lean up one another, or depend upon the position of a monument on Pausanias' presumed route. With all due caution one has to argue in circles. But the general coherence of the picture must be allowed to carry conviction. Fortunately, from Pausanias' point of view, some of the most important elements are the most secure. The Tholos is absolutely fixed. The temple of Ares,

¹⁴ See p. 40 below.

¹⁵ M. Carroll, *The Attica of Pausanias* (1907), 6.

¹⁶ E.g. Melite with the shrine of Herakles and other interesting shrines, including the Eurysakeion. It has now been convincingly shown that Kolonos Agoraios was included in Melite (see D. Lewis in *ABSA*, 50 [1955], 16; cf. Schol. *Birds* 997); and to this Pausanias gives a somewhat hasty and belated glance (see p. 35 below).

I have dealt briefly with his treatment of eastern and southeastern Athens in an article in the *Neleion* (not mentioned by Pausanias) which is to appear in the *ABSA*. First he makes an extensive eastward sweep, in the middle of which he breaks off at Kynosarges (18.3) and jumps across to the other gymnasium, the Lyceum, from which he takes a yet more easterly line southward. Then he follows a closer circuit round the east end and south side of the Acropolis.

another turning point, is safe; there is no other candidate for the occupancy of this shrine. The great building in the middle of the agora must without any doubt be the Odeion. The evidence for the Eleusinion, in the shape of inscriptions and minor finds, away to the southeast of the agora, is overwhelming. The Poikile, though it has not been found, cannot now be placed anywhere but on the north side of the agora. These locations in themselves fix beyond doubt the main lines of Pausanias' advance. Before the Tholos he is unquestionably coming down the west side, whatever trouble we may encounter at the north end.

One is not bound to think of the dotted line given in the plan as an absolutely continuous itinerary trodden by Pausanias at every point.¹⁷ All one can say, and all one needs to be sure of, is that he followed certain lines at different stages and gave certain sequences of monuments. When he entered the agora at the northwest corner from the Dipylon, Pausanias would find three streets diverging from that point, one to the south, one to the southeast diagonally across the agora, and one to the east. To follow these streets must have appeared to him the best way of covering the area. His periegesis is thus based in the main on three lines radiating from the point of entry. On this site he finds convenient a radial method of covering the ground which he came to use regularly in dealing with cities and whole districts.¹⁸ At Corinth the agora hardly lent itself to such treatment, but itself formed the centre from which he followed various diverging roads.

Pausanias' chapters on the agora, studied in relation to the finds, take us a stage further in determining the true character and aim of his work, and confirm that however artificial and literary a form he ultimately gave it, his work is primarily a guide, a *Reiseführer*. He is taking his readers round the site as he himself found it, and pointing out in sequence the things most worth attention. The topographical element, based on a list of monuments, is the hard core, the backbone. Some

¹⁷ Cf. n. 34 below.

¹⁸ C. Robert discusses his radial method well in *Pausanias als Schriftsteller*.

modern writers on Pausanias have minimized this element and made much of his literary pretensions¹⁹; but the most recent authors have attained a more balanced estimate. Undoubtedly Pausanias thought of his book as a literary work also, to be read and appreciated whether one used it as a guide or not. On the whole it is not very profitable to try to separate the two motives; one cannot help doubting whether Pausanias was altogether clear and consistent in his own mind as he wrote.

The connecting thread which runs through each section of Pausanias' work is the simple list of monuments, noted in more or less topographical order—with occasional twists or kinks—however much this is subsequently complicated.²⁰ In fact more than two thirds of the chapters on the agora consist of very long historical notes, which tend to dislocate the work and which well illustrate Pausanias' lack of a sense of proportion. But these are essentially insertions. They do not worry the topographer. At almost every point Pausanias refers back and resumes with admirable smoothness and clarity (1.5.1;

¹⁹ Robert's admirable book has been misleading in this respect. His reconstruction of the agora, in which he allows himself to be guided by his ideas of Pausanias' methods of composition, is one of the most erroneous of all. Not only are the buildings badly misplaced, but the whole agora is dislocated from its proper site.

Even a recent writer (G. Zuntz on the Altar of Eleos in *Classica et Mediaevalia*, 14, [1953], 74) while admitting that many of Robert's statements have been refuted, commends his general view and says, "It remains nonetheless true that the book of Pausanias is essentially a literary production. He who picks out those features which can justify its description as a 'Baedeker' is bound to mistake him *in toto et in partibus*." However this may be, Robert, putting his ideas into tangible form in a plan of the agora, produced something which *in toto et in partibus* is quite unlike anything the agora ever was.

For more recent treatment see E. Meyer's introduction to his recent translation (1954) and O. Regenbogen in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. VIII, col. 163. Though the former tends to emphasize the character of the book as a *Reiseführer*, while the latter lays more stress on its literary character, in fact the two come pretty close together. I have indicated my views briefly in *Agora* III, *Introduction*, 11.

²⁰ And the topographical element, one should note, is continuous and fairly systematic; the elaboration in the form of mythological and historical digressions and so forth is more occasional and fortuitous, more lacking in system and sense of proportion.

8.2; 14.1). He makes no connecting reference at 17.1, but the digression on Seleukos is very much shorter than the others.

What causes real difficulty in following Pausanias on the spot, and picking out the things he mentions, is the fact that he uses vague and general terms—if he says anything at all—to indicate the relation of each monument to the one preceding. One would hardly look for precise distances and directions as in a modern guidebook; but one might expect a little more than he gives. Assuming that his work began with a list of monuments, one suspects that this lack of precision was at some points apt to be aggravated in the process of working up his basic material into literary form. He wished his book to be readable; he was conscious that the nature of his subject was liable to produce monotony. In striving after literary style he seeks variety in his transitions. The formulae which he uses are of a conventional character; topographical relations are apt to become blurred in the process of literary composition. G. Daux emphasizes and illustrates this characteristic in the case of the monuments of Delphi.²¹ After a careful analysis of Pausanias' varied modes of transition he speaks of "ces véritables acrobaties" (200). One would hardly use such a term of his procedure in the Athenian agora; but there he had not such long sequences of more or less homogeneous monuments to cope with. "Parcourant le sanctuaire," writes Daux, "il prend des notes devant chaque monument, et c'est la succession même de ces notes qui constitue le plan de son exposé." One can say the same of the Athenian agora; there, too, one has reason to doubt whether he always took careful note of the successive stages of his itinerary, of the relative position of monuments; whether he incorporated such notes directly and precisely in his final work, or relied to a certain extent on memory assisted by literary invention.

²¹ *Pausanias à Delphes, passim*, and especially 189ff.

PERIEGESIS OF THE AGORA

On entering the agora (3.1), which he calls the Kera-meikos, probably restricting too narrowly even for his contemporaries the significance of the latter name,²² Pausanias clearly indicates the direction which he takes—to the right, i.e. southwards. A group of closely related monuments follows, and in presenting these he consistently gives indications of the relation of one to another. Yet in spite of this he has left room for doubt whether the Basileios and the stoa of Zeus are the same or separate buildings. How this may have happened is discussed more fully below.²³ That it can happen at all is symptomatic of a certain lack of clarity and precision into which his language is apt to fall. He seems in fact to have been guilty of a verbal inconsistency in writing up his material.

When he passes from the stoa of Zeus to the temple of Apollo, at 3.4, the fact that Euphranor not only painted the pictures in the stoa of Zeus but also made "the Apollo called Patroos in the temple near by" provides him with the kind of opportunity which he welcomes—to make a more interesting and stylish transition than a mere topographical sequence allows.

His omission and inclusion of topographical directions are quite arbitrary. He gives none at the next stage (3.5), but simply says, "There is built also a shrine of the Mother of the Gods." His common phrase *ὀλίγον ἀπωτέρω*²⁴ would not have been inappropriate here, since he is going on to a fresh group of monuments, comparatively detached from those just mentioned. A broad passage was left between the temple of Apollo and the Metroon, leading up the hillside to the temple of Hephaistos, which he might well have visited at this point. He gives no hint of the elaborate and complex form of the contemporary Metroon, with its shrine and record rooms. Shrine of the Mother, record-office and Bouleuterion hang closely

²² See *Agora* III, 221.

²³ See p. 37 below.

²⁴ See *Agora* III, 89-90, for his use of this phrase.

together in his account (3.5, *πλησίον*; 5.1, *πλησίον*)—as they do in fact—in spite of the long digression on the Gauls. Pausanias constantly writes on the assumption that the reader can see things for himself; for example at 3.5, “The Thesmothetai” (what Thesmothetai? The ones you see in front of you) were painted by Protogenes.

Now the periegesis takes a different direction (5.1). Monuments were thick along both sides of the western street, and to deal with them adequately Pausanias doubles back along its eastern side; we now know this from the archaeological finds. There is no hint of the change of direction in the text of Pausanias. In fact something seems to have gone wrong with his account at this point. There is no reasonable doubt about the site of the Eponymoi. They stood on the long base on the other side of the street, further north and a little *lower down*. One might have expected from Pausanias something like *καταντικρύ*, which would give a vague but not misleading idea of their position; or possibly *ὀλίγον ἀπωτέρω*.²⁵ In fact he says *ἀνωτέρω δὲ* . . . A reasonable explanation is that Pausanias’ basic notes did not contain a clear indication of the relation of the Eponymoi to the Tholos, or of the point at which he turned back down the street, and that he suffered from a momentary confusion of mind or lapse of memory.

The statues leading up to and around the temple of Ares follow in succession, until one reaches the tyrannicides, again with a variety of mainly colorless topographical transitions.²⁶ One can make pretty well what one wishes of this in looking for the sites of these monuments in the central part of the agora around the temple. Other authors give somewhat more precise information in several cases. Demosthenes was near the altar of the Twelve Gods²⁷; this places him beyond the

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ 8. 2-5; cf. *Hesperia*, 22 (1953), 43.

²⁷ Ps. *Plutarch*, *X Orat.*, 847a. The old difficulty of coordinating Pausanias and Ps. *Plutarch* and Ps. *Aeschines* (see n. 28) is neatly resolved now that we can assume that Pausanias has doubled back and is near the *Basileios* again, and the XII Gods Altar is in this same region..

temple to the north. Yet Pausanias coming from the south mentions Demosthenes first, and then says that the temple is near his statue. Presumably he thinks it natural and effective to list Lycurgus, Kallias and Demosthenes together, even though this takes him beyond the temple. This means a departure from strict sequence, but hardly a real aberration from his itinerary. Pindar stood in front of the Basileios,²⁸ i.e. in the same part of the agora as Demosthenes, but he is mentioned *after* the temple along with the obscure Kalades. With the tyrannicides Pausanias must have reached the line of the Panathenaic street; Arrian almost pin-points the site—"about opposite the Metroon, where we go up to the Acropolis."²⁹ This last phrase can now hardly be taken to mean anything but the Panathenaic Street; and the statues must have been *immediately adjacent* to the street, if the words are to have any point.

The "theatre called Odeion" (8.6) receives no introduction. Dominating the agora, as we now know it did, it would be quite unmistakable. The succession of monuments which follows, as far as Eukleia, 14.5, hangs together, even though loosely. Enneakrounos is "near" the Odeion, the temples of Demeter and Kore and of Triptolemos are above the fountain, the temple of Eukleia is "still further off." The lack of a topographical link between the Odeion and the tyrannicides has had unfortunate results in the modern study of Pausanias. In the days when his Enneakrounos and the Eleusinion were sought in comparatively distant parts, and this passage was thought to be a special excursion or even to have suffered a serious dislocation in Pausanias' scheme, the whole group of monuments beginning with the Odeion was pushed around Athens with some ruthlessness.³⁰ Now the Odeion is particularly firmly fixed in the middle of the agora and the Eleusinion is safely placed to the southeast. There is no eccentricity or dislocation in the periegesis at this point; it merely becomes a

²⁸ Ps. Aeschines, *Epist.* IV, 2-3.

²⁹ *Anabasis*, 3. 16. 8.

³⁰ Cf. Fraser's Pausanias, Vol. 2, 112.

little more diffuse and widely extended. That this is so excuses to some extent his loose use of the word *πλησίον* at 14.1, of Enneakrounos in relation to the Odeion. The "South-east Fountain-House", which is probably Pausanias' Enneakrounos, is about 90m., even in a direct line, from the south side of the Odeion, and is cut off from it by the stoas of the southern part of the agora. This is a very different matter from *πλησίον* as used hitherto; Pausanias is stretching the sense of the word to its limit, but perhaps not beyond. Perhaps one should think of him as proceeding along the Panathenaic Street; opposite the east end of the Middle Stoa the Odeion would still be towering up close behind him, while the fountain house would be coming into view not far in front. (*πλησίον* and *ὑπέρ* at 14.1, would be much more difficult to account for if one were trying to identify his Enneakrounos with the south-west fountain house.) Whatever one thinks of *πλησίον*—it may be no more than a conventional connection rather carelessly used—since the Odeion and the Eleusinion are fixed one is led forcibly to the conclusion that among the hydraulic installations to the southeast of the agora, midway between and just off the road, Pausanias saw what he took to be Enneakrounos.³¹

³¹ Although to this extent one may hopefully consider the old Enneakrounos problem as simplified and concentrated, in some ways the excavations have introduced new complexities. For the newly discovered fountain houses see *Hesperia*, 18 (1949), 133, 214; 22 (1953), 29-35; 24 (1955), 57; *Agora Guide*, 73, 74, 80; *Agora III*, 140. I have also benefited from hearing a lecture by Professor Homer Thompson on the water-supply of the agora and Athens in general, a complex subject on which new evidence continues to appear.

The south-east fountain house is of suitable archaic date for the Peisistratid Enneakrounos; but it consisted essentially of rectangular water-basins at either end, east and west, of a long rectangular area; and it is difficult to imagine for it a suitable nine-spouted form. Also the water was supplied mainly by an important aqueduct leading from the east—little rose on the spot—which makes even more puzzling Pausanias' statement that Enneakrounos was Athens' one and only *πηγή* or natural source. He may be simply mistaken on this point; it would be difficult in city fountains to tell to what extent water came from a natural spring.

Towards the middle of the second century A.D., in Pausanias' own time, was built the handsome semi-circular Nymphaeum which has been found adjacent to the archaic fountain-house, on the north. The question rises whether this is what Pausanias means, or whether indeed this was the second century version of Enneakrounos. Pausanias would have it prominently in view as he

Whether it was Thucydides' Kallirrhoe-Enneakrounos, and why Pausanias says it was the only *πηγή* at Athens, are questions to which the answer is still not clear. The old Enneakrounos problem has not been solved by the excavations but has taken on a different form. But at least one can be fairly sure that Pausanias is following a simple and continuous route at this point.

In spite of the considerable distance again involved, his description of the Eleusinian shrines as "above the fountain" is quite natural. His reticence about the Eleusinion, and his confused and ambiguous way of relating the temples to it, are unfortunate. First he mentions the temple of Demeter and Kore and the temple of Triptolemos, then he alludes to the Eleusinion, then he comes back to the temple of Triptolemos. It would be premature to attempt to interpret his words till excavation has cleared the rest of the site.³²

His introduction of the Hephaisteion at this point I have discussed elsewhere³³; it is in the nature of a special excursion in the itinerary,³⁴ perhaps intended to remedy an earlier omission. For this purpose he adopts for a moment quite a different method, relating the temple not to anything immediately preceding it but to the agora (Kerameikos) as a whole, and to the most important building below it on the west side. He could hardly have spoken in just these terms, I believe, of any but the temple which still crowns the hill and dominates the scene from the west.

came along the Panathenaic Way. But the Nymphaeum was an elaborate building of blatantly contemporary design à la Herodes Atticus; and Pausanias speaks of Peisistratos and his work. Perhaps he ignored the new building and noticed the old; perhaps the Nymphaeum had not yet been built.

The south-west fountain house, designed on a different principle and L-shaped, was built in the fifth century B.C. and still existed in Pausanias' time.

³² See *Agora* III, 74 for the evidence.

³³ In an article to appear in *JHS*.

³⁴ Here in particular one need not insist on the dotted line of the continuous itinerary. If one does, then instead of going back through the middle of the agora and up between the Metroon and the temple of Apollo, Pausanias may have passed across the south side of the agora and then up to the Kolonos through two small propyla discovered south and west of the Tholos.

At 14.7 the sense of *πλησίον* is again somewhat strained, though not beyond credibility, if the identification of the shrine of Aphrodite Ourania, as the small building whose remains lie at the southern foot of Kolonos, is correct.³⁵

At 15.1 Pausanias gives the impression that he is making a new approach, but he gives no indication from what direction. To his contemporaries no doubt all would be clear, since he uses one of the most famous buildings of the agora as his point of reference. His mode of procedure is somewhat similar to what we have at 3.1-3, if one assumes that the Basilios and Zeus stoas are identical—first a brief mention of the Poikile, then certain monuments which one sees as one approaches it, then on to the stoa itself and its paintings. But there is no ambiguity at this point, since he says quite clearly "*This stoa . . .*"

At 17.1 he uses the term "agora" for the first time instead of Kerameikos. One need not look for any particular significance in this. His mode of introducing the altar of Eleos has an artificial literary and moral tone; this is another method by which on occasion he diversifies the periegesis. As far as anything he says about the site goes, the altar might be anywhere in the agora; but unless there is evidence to the contrary we can assume that the altar like everything else so far takes a natural place in the itinerary. There are, however, certain curious features in his treatment of the altar which are dealt with separately below.³⁶ He attaches to it a list of altars to other "abstract" deities, without saying where they were; one at least, the altar of Aidos, stood on the Acropolis.³⁷ Similarly at the Academy, 30.1, in connection with the altar of Eros he mentions the altar of Anteros, though in this case he makes it clear that the latter was "in the city."

³⁵ Mrs. Dorothy Thompson has pointed out to me that this identification is not beyond doubt, and that the building may not be a temple at all but another propylon.

³⁶ See p. 40 below.

³⁷ See Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*,² 283.

BASILEIOS-ZEUS STOA

In the first stage of Pausanias' description of the agora (3. 1-3) a problem at once arises which shows in an acute form the kind of trouble which his method of description is liable to create. He mentions the stoa Basileios; he mentions various statues; he continues, "behind is built a stoa," which is undoubtedly what other writers call the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios. The problem is, have we two stoas here, or only one. This question has been much discussed in recent years; probably the last word cannot be said until the excavations are carried further north. The excavators themselves, besides other commentators, are not in agreement whether the stoa actually discovered in the northwestern part of the agora is the stoa of Zeus only or whether it is also the Basileios. Thompson's arguments for the identity of the two, expressed fully in his publication of the building,³⁸ remain convincing, I believe; there are difficulties, but there are greater difficulties in separating the stoas. R. Martin gives a good summary of the discussion in *L'Agora Grecque*,³⁹ and is of the same opinion.

Pausanias can, I think, be best explained on this view; but for the moment we are only concerned with that element in the character of his evidence which has made it possible to derive from it diametrically opposite opinions. Before the excavations showed the difficulty of fitting in a second stoa the problem did not arise. At first reading Pausanias certainly seems to be speaking of two buildings, and Frazer in his edition and Judeich in his *Topographie*⁴⁰ took this for granted. Once the archaeological finds brought the difficulty to the fore Thompson noted that the words of Pausanias allowed and even suggested the possibility that there was only one stoa. One might go still further and say that if one carefully re-examines his language this is the only view which they allow, or even that they prove the case outright. "Near the Basileios stand

³⁸ *Hesperia*, 6 (1937), 64ff. and 225; cf. *Agora* III, 30.

³⁹ *Recherches sur l'Agora Grecque* (1951), 320ff.

⁴⁰ 339.

Konon and Timotheos and Euagoras." "Here (ἐνταῦθα) stand Zeus and Hadrian." "Behind is built a stoa." He simply has not moved on; one cannot get him away from the Basileios. In the agora he repeatedly deals with groups of statues in relation to a particular building. ἐνταῦθα means that he has not changed his major architectural point of reference. In some contexts, where he is taking a broader view, it might imply a greater distance and a certain degree of detachment; here, where he is moving slowly and describing monuments in great detail, it hardly can. (And it so happens that a suitable group of bases have been found in front of the excavated stoa,⁴¹ to corroborate the view that he is anchored down to one spot, that he has not passed on to another building).

Yet acute pre-excavation commentators overlooked all this and took his words in quite a different sense. The trouble lies of course in the way he continues—"a stoa is built behind;" he should have written, to be consistent, "*the stoa* is built behind," or even "the stoa Basileios," and then all would have been clear. Of course he *may* have gone wrong at ἐνταῦθα, using the word improperly and blurring a topographical transition at that point. But the most likely explanation is I think something like this—he enters the agora and notes, "Stoa Basileios—statues—pictures in stoa;" then in working up his material into literary form he does not keep very clearly in mind whether there are two stoas or one. Thompson perhaps flatters Pausanias when he speaks of the passages on the Basileios as "our most straightforward and trustworthy evidence." Pausanias did not deceive, but he was sometimes not very clear-headed or direct in expression.

But for the unfortunate ambiguity of language, his suggested procedure in dealing with the Basileios—to mention the building and its purpose, then the statues conspicuous on the roof followed by the statues in front, then to go in and see the paintings—is not unreasonable, though it is difficult to find a precise parallel. Thompson suggests his description of the

⁴¹ *Hesperia*, 6 (1937), 56ff. and 68.

Propylaea and the sanctuary of Poseidon at the Isthmus.⁴² In the former case his procedure is perhaps simpler and more natural; he does not mention the same structure twice in such a way as to cause ambiguity. First he admires the beauty of the great gateway itself, then he mentions various associated shrines, monuments and subsidiary structures; finally he passes through the gateway still noting statues as he goes. A fairly close parallel on a vast scale is his approach to the Acrocorinthus (2.4.6-5.1). "The Acrocorinthus is a peak above the city . . . handed over by Helios to Aphrodite;" shrines on the way to the hill follow, then the peak itself with the temple of Aphrodite. This again is entirely natural and clear. At 1.3.1-3, he has been unhappy in his choice of language; he has not kept the scene clearly in view or brought it unmistakably before his readers' eyes.

HERMS

On one troublesome point concerning the monuments of the northwestern corner of the agora Pausanias unfortunately remains silent. This is the question of "the Herms," and "the stoa of the Herms," a very elusive structure on which a word from Pausanias might have settled doubts. However with great caution one may sometimes use Pausanias' silences and omissions as significant evidence. There were Herms everywhere about the streets of Athens, but somewhere in the northwest corner of the agora stood what were known as "the Herms" *par excellence*.⁴³ Elsewhere (1.24.3) he mentions the Athenian practice of setting up Herms, and it may be that he is content with this "blanket" reference and does not feel called upon to mention "the Herms" in the agora specifically. Yet he goes out of his way to bring in certain particular Herms in the Ptolemaion (1.17.2).

Menekles-Kallikrates, as quoted by Harpokration on *Hermai*, said that the Herms were "from the Poikile and the Stoa of the King," which must mean that they began at and

⁴² *Ibid.*, 225.

⁴³ See *Agora* III, 103ff. for the evidence.

extended from these stoas. This is best explained on the assumption that the Basileios was at the north end of the west side of the agora—as indeed we know it was—and the Poikile at the west end of the north side. There would then be a group or line of Herms at the north end of the Basileios and the west end of the Poikile.

It is a probable assumption, though it cannot be proved, that the Herms dedicated by Kimon belonged to this group, which, according to Menekles-Kallikrates, consisted of large numbers set up by both private individuals and magistrates; and that the "Stoa of the Herms," in which Kimon's dedication stood, was in this region. The existence of this stoa has been denied and the text of Aeschines (iii, 103) forcibly emended to get rid of it.⁴⁴ On the other hand in some of the restored agora plans it is placed solidly at the west end of the north side of the agora, considerably displacing the Poikile towards the east. This gives an arrangement which does not suit Menekles-Kallikrates' description so well. I have already suggested that one can keep the stoa of the Herms, but not make it inconveniently obtrusive on the scheme of this part of the agora, by assuming that it was not a great stoa, coordinate with the Poikile and the Basileios, but a mere frame for the three Herms.⁴⁵ In that case it is less surprising that Pausanias says nothing. But even so one might have expected something from him on this notable and famous group of figures.

ALTAR OF ELEOS

The last thing of all which Pausanias mentions (17.1) before leaving the agora and visiting the buildings to the east and southeast is the altar of Eleos. This has been very reasonably identified with what was called the altar of the Twelve Gods; the identification is very acceptable though it cannot be

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 104.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

proved outright.⁴⁶ It is very probable that the name "altar of Eleos" does not represent a genuine old cult, but was rather a somewhat artificial title given to another cult, and that of the Twelve is for various reasons the most likely. The altar of the Twelve has been discovered and identified on very sound evidence, including a dedication *in situ*, in the middle of the northern part of the agora. Pausanias does not mention the altar of the Twelve (under that name) which is particularly unfortunate since it is one of the few points in the agora which archaeologically are securely fixed. Whether one accepts the identification of Eleos and the Twelve or not, what he has to say at this point calls for comment and for some reflection on his method.

If the altar of the Twelve is distinct from Eleos, then Pausanias is guilty of an omission, perhaps the most surprising and culpable in his account of the agora. The altar was ancient and venerable and played an important part in Athenian life; it was in a key position in the agora and served as a central milestone from which distances were measured,⁴⁷ and it may be what Pindar⁴⁸ calls in his dithyramb for the Athenians "the much-frequented navel of the city, fragrant with incense." One might even use the unlikelihood of Pausanias having ignored this monument completely as an argument for bringing the Twelve and Eleos together.

If the identification is correct, as it probably is, then Pausanias merely failed to observe the true nature of the cult and the history of the altar. This would not be surprising; he does not usually show great powers of penetration in such matters. In the agora he appears to be quite ignorant of the remarkable history of the temple of Ares, torn up from some other site and replanted in the middle of the square, though this must have been well known and remembered at Athens.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 94; Vol. 21 (1952), 49; Agora III, 67ff and 122; cf. G. Zuntz in *Classica et Mediaevalia*, 14 (1953), 71ff., who expresses strong doubts about the identification, and the present writer in *C.Q.*, N.S. 4, 143ff.

⁴⁷ Herodotus, 6, 108, 4; *IG* II², 2640.

⁴⁸ Frag. 75 (Snell), 63 (Bowra); cf. *Agora* III, 122.

⁴⁹ Dinsmoor in *Hesperia*, 9 (1940), 47.

The place of the altar of Eleos in his description suits the altar of the Twelve well enough to support the identification. The altar is not far to the south of, i.e. in front of the Poikile, which he has just described, and which must now be placed on the north side of the agora probably towards the west end.⁵⁰ But there are two peculiar points in his mode of introducing the altar of Eleos, which perhaps when taken together explain one another, and at the same time throw a little light on his procedure. The altar is not quite where one would have expected from his description; he could more easily and naturally have brought it in at an earlier stage. And he says it is amongst the things in the agora which are "not *episema* to all," an obscure remark which has usually been mistranslated and which on any interpretation is a strange thing to say about this altar. At this stage Pausanias is passing along the north side of the agora and is about to leave it at the north east corner. He has dealt with the Poikile, noted the statue of Solon in front of it and the statue of Seleukos "a little further off;" and his next stopping point is the Ptolemaion to the east of the agora. The altar of the Twelve is on the other side of the Panathenaic street, and in some ways more closely linked with the monuments in the northwestern section, and also those in the centre near the temple of Ares. It was near the *perischoinisma*,⁵¹ where that was we cannot be sure, but the most probable location is in front of the Basileios, especially if one can identify the Basileios with the stoa of Zeus. The great painting of the Twelve in the stoa of Zeus linked up with the altar, and Pausanias might have mentioned the altar in connection with this stoa rather than the Poikile. Again the altar of the Twelve

⁵⁰ I.e. further west than is tentatively indicated in most of the agora plans; see p. 40 above and Agora III, 40; it is probably best to assume that it was not masked by the small "north-east stoa"; I also think that the "stoa beside the Basileios" of *Ecclesiastus* 685 is probably the Poikile (see Agora III, 22); if this is so the Poikile must be near the west end, so that on entering the agora the visitor would have the Basileios to the right balanced by the Poikile to the left.

⁵¹ Ps. Plutarch, *X Orat.* 847a; cf R. Martin in *B.C.H.*, 66-67 (1942/43), 282, and the present writer in *J.H.S.*, 75 (1955), 117-18.

was near the statue of Demosthenes,⁵² which Pausanias saw with other statues near the temple of Ares. The best point of all at which to introduce the altar into his sequence of monuments would have been after these statues, at 1.8.5. It would have been an entirely natural turning point for the next "leg" of his tour. Instead he misses it and turns immediately south to the Tyrannicides and so on towards the Eleusinion.

At 1.17.1 he is again in the neighborhood of the altar and at last his attention is drawn to it. One almost gets the impression that he is glancing over his shoulder and repairing an omission before he finally leaves the agora; and the consciousness of this may have led him to use the otherwise inexplicable words οὐκ ἐπίσημα. The altar was a low and modest structure, and surrounded and perhaps masked by trees;⁵³ he may have failed to recognize it for what it was, and to note it down at the earlier stage.

Just what does he mean by "not *episema* to all"? Frazer translates, "not universally known," W. H. S. Jones, "not generally known." E. Meyer's recent translation reads, "die nicht bei allen Menschen bekannt sind." These versions are at best only approximate; they miss the essential meaning of ἐπίσημος, which is "bearing a distinguishing mark." Even when the word assumes a vaguer and more general character (see L-S-J 3, "notable", "remarkable") one cannot get away altogether from this basic meaning. I therefore take the words to mean, "not bearing a distinguishing mark for all to see," "not easily distinguishable for everyone." The words can hardly refer to the fact that Eleos was not recognized as a god and worshipped elsewhere. ἐπίσημος does not mean "honored" or "worshipped"; and Pausanias is speaking of actual concrete objects, monuments such as an altar, in the Athenian agora, and saying that *these* are not ἐπίσημα.

It would in fact have been quite untrue to say that the altar of Eleos was "not generally known." It was very famous indeed from at least the time of Lucian and Pausanias, and it

⁵² *X Orat.* 847a.

⁵³ Statius, *Theb.* 491; cf. *Hesperia*, 21 (1952), 50; 22, p. 46.

became proverbial, a commonplace of the rhetorical schools, with which Pausanias was not unacquainted. Apsines says,⁵⁴ speaking of the altar of Eleos, "For this you have a great reputation amongst all other men." Perhaps the expression is one of those which indicate Pausanias' awareness of the enormous task he has before him. In such a place as the agora of Athens it is only too easy to miss things of interest if they do not stand out clearly recognizable; there are so very many things to see and record.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

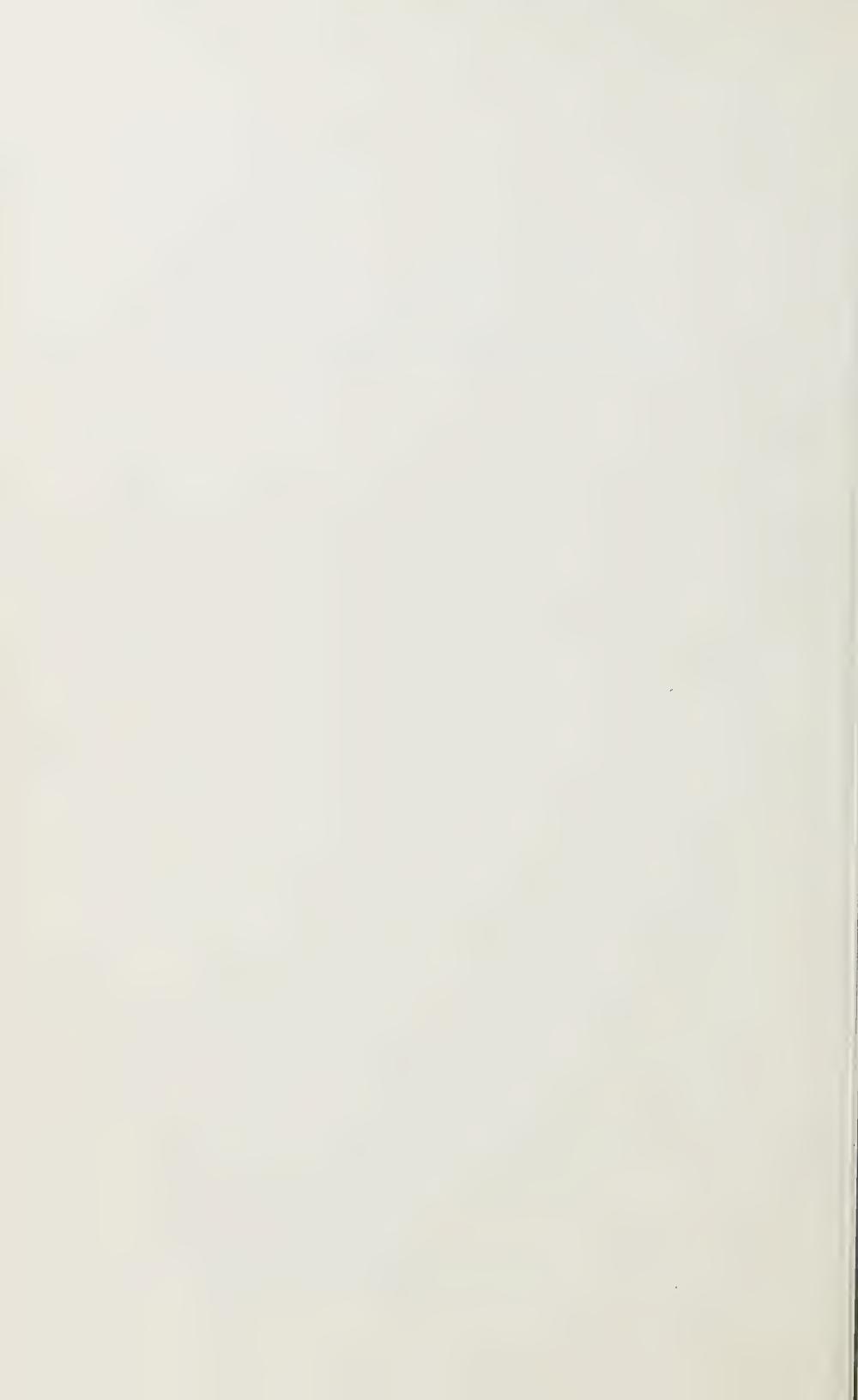
This article was put together mainly during a period at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, and I should particularly like to record my debt to helpful suggestions by Professor H. A. Thompson. For the plan I am indebted to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF NORTH WALES

⁵⁴ *Ars. Rhet.*, ed. Hammer, 307; cf. *Agora* III, 67ff.

THE GREEK INSCRIPTIONS OF
THE JEWS OF ROME

HARRY J. LEON



THE TEXTS OF THE INSCRIPTIONS from the Jewish catacombs of Rome are available in J. B. Frey's *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum. I. Europe* (Città del Vaticano, 1936), 6-390. Of the 529 inscriptions which Frey regards as belonging to the Jews of ancient Rome, some must be rejected either as of uncertain provenience or as not demonstrably Jewish or even as spurious. Besides, as I have demonstrated elsewhere,¹ several inscriptions allegedly found in Porto were actually taken to that place from Rome and should be included among the Judeo-Roman inscriptions. In addition, some of the items which Frey places in an appendix as probably pagan should be regarded as genuinely Jewish. In the texts themselves as presented by Frey, there are, as I discovered through personal examination of the inscriptions, many errors of transcription.² Yet, despite these shortcomings, Frey's *Corpus* is now, and will likely be for some time, the standard collection. Consequently, my references to the inscriptions by number are in accordance with the arrangement in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum*.

Of the 534 items which I think may legitimately be counted as Jewish inscriptions of Rome, 405 (76%) are Greek; of the rest, 123 (23%) are Latin, three are Hebrew, one Aramaic, one bilingual Greek and Latin, one bilingual Aramaic and Greek. From these figures it is quite apparent that the Roman-Jewish community, which existed from about 100 B.C., was Greek-speaking. The Latin inscriptions appear to belong to a more Romanized element in the group.

In a paper read before the American Philological Association some thirty years ago,³ I pointed out that the Roman

¹ "The Jewish Community of Ancient Porto," *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, 45 (1952), 165-175.

² My corrections of Frey's *Corpus* will appear in a forthcoming book on the Jews of ancient Rome. For some of these corrections, see L. Robert, *Rev. Ét. Juives*, 101 (1937), 73-86; also *Hellenica*, 3 (1946), 90-108; and my review in *Jewish Quart. Rev.*, 28 (1938), 357-361.

³ "The Language of the Greek Inscriptions from the Jewish Catacombs of Rome," *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assn.*, 58 (1927), 210-233. My more recent study of the inscriptions has produced some corrections and additions, but the basic percentages and conclusions of the original paper have not been changed.

Jews spoke no special Greek dialect in any way comparable to the Yiddish or Ladino of more recent times. Since all the inscriptions are sepulchral, examples of vocabulary, idiom, and syntactical peculiarities are necessarily limited, but the indications are that the Greek of the Jewish community at Rome was not materially different from the *koiné* Greek of the Mediterranean lands during the Graeco-Roman period.

Errors in spelling and instances of transliteration between Greek and Latin words and names proved to be especially useful as evidence for pronunciation. The very frequent confusion of $\alpha\iota$ and ϵ and of $\epsilon\iota$ and ι reveals that the original diphthongs $\alpha\iota$ and $\epsilon\iota$ were already pronounced as in modern Greek, a pronunciation which we know prevailed generally by the beginning of the Christian era. On the other hand, $\omicron\iota$ and υ , though pronounced alike, were not yet pronounced like ι , as they are at present, but they seem to have been close to the sound of German *ü* or French *u*. The vowel η still had its ancient *e* sound, as is clear from its being frequently interchanged with ϵ . In only a few instances is η confused with ι , and these occur in inscriptions which show a low level of literacy in other respects.

The consonants seem essentially to have retained their classical pronunciations, except that ϕ was already equivalent in sound to Latin *f*. The other aspirate consonants, θ and χ , were still pronounced as aspirates; β , γ , and δ had not become spirants, as they are in modern Greek.

Variations from the norm in inflections and syntax are few and not especially significant. Worth citing is the nominative ending $-\omicron\nu\varsigma$ instead of $-\omicron\varsigma$, on the analogy of Latin *-us*. Examples are $\epsilon\pi\iota\gamma\epsilon\nu\iota\omicron\nu\varsigma$ (323), $\nu\eta\pi\iota\omicron\nu\varsigma$ (162), $\Sigma\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\omicron\nu\varsigma$ (52). In many instances $-\iota\varsigma$ is found instead of $-\iota\omicron\varsigma$ in the nominative of masculine names. Such are, to cite a few, $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\beta\iota\varsigma$ (114, 119, 332, 333), $\kappa\alpha\iota\iota\varsigma$ (365), $\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\iota\varsigma$ (95, 305), $\mu\alpha\kappa\epsilon\delta\omicron\nu\iota\varsigma$ (370). The genitives and datives of both these groups have the regular endings $-\omicron\nu$ and $-\iota\omicron\nu$, $-\omega$ and $-\iota\omega$, respectively. It should be noted that no iota subscript (or adscript) is used in the dative, nor, in fact, is there any example of such an iota in this group of inscriptions.

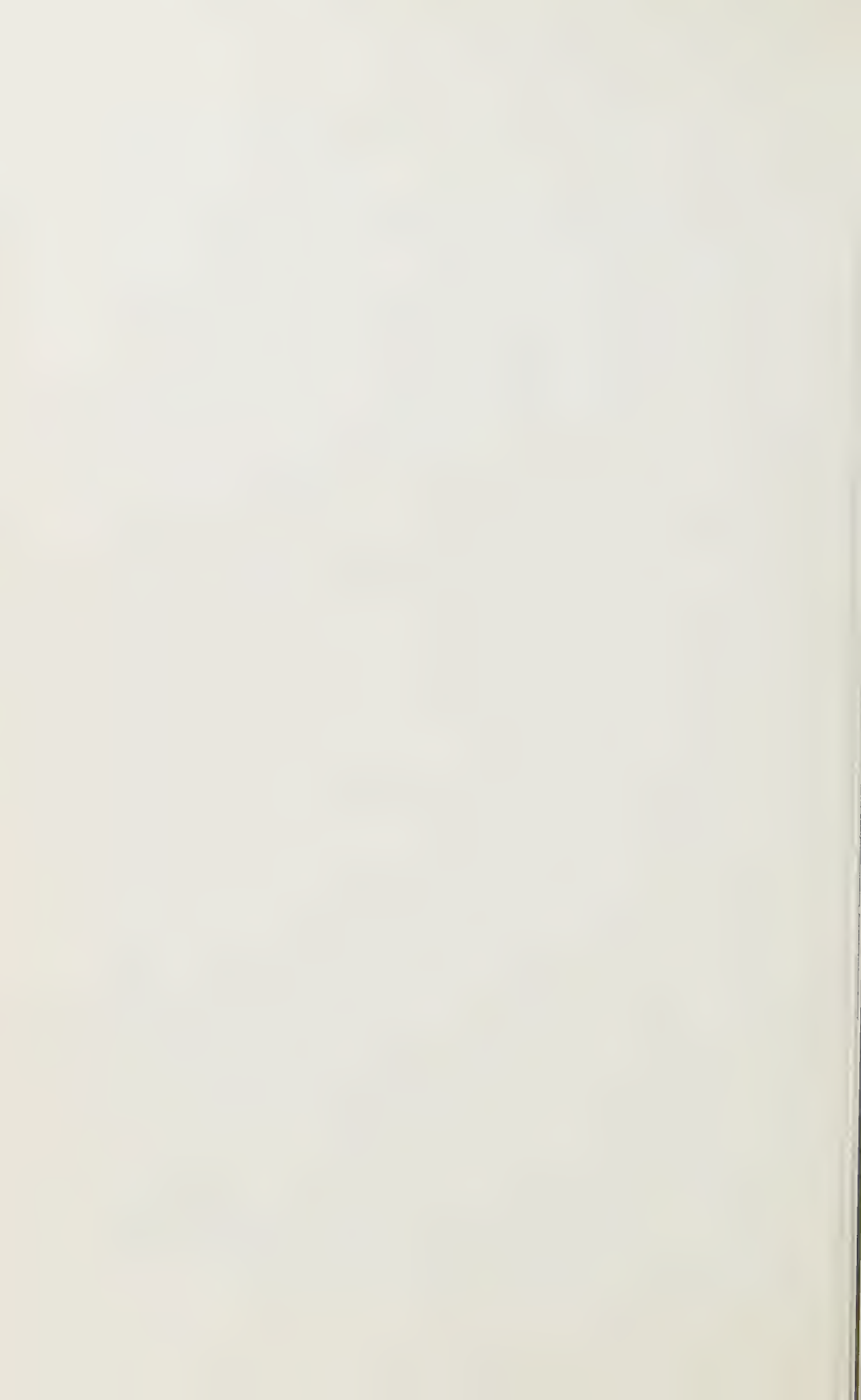
Instead of -εὺς in the nominative, such nouns as γραμματεὺς and ἱερεὺς occasionally show -εος (142, 146) and -εους (99, 148, 346). The verb forms, apart from a few garbled instances, are correct, but except for such words as κείται, ἐβίωσεν, ἐποίησεν, these sepulchral inscriptions show comparatively few verbs. Other grammatical peculiarities are sporadic and fail to reveal characteristics which can be attributed to the group as a whole.

An interesting feature of the Greek inscriptions, aside from the linguistic peculiarities, is the use of sepulchral formulas. More than two-thirds start with the phrase "Here lies" (ἐνθάδε κείται), and at least half end with the formula "In peace be his (her, their) sleep" (ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἢ κοίμησις αὐτοῦ or αὐτῆς or αὐτῶν). Not infrequently the wish is expressed that the deceased may sleep "among the righteous" (μετὰ τῶν δικαίων or μετὰ τῶν ὁσίων). The aphorism in *Proverbs* 10.7, "The memory of the righteous shall be for a blessing," appears as μνήμη (or μνεία) δικαίου εἰς εὐλογία (86, 370) or μνήμη δικαίου σὺν ἐγκωμίῳ (201). The exhortation "Be of good courage; no one is immortal" (θάρσει οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος), which occurs also in pagan and Christian inscriptions, is found five times in the Jewish inscriptions of Rome (314, 335, 380, 401, 450). It is especially touching as found on the grave of the child Euphrasius, who died at the age of three years and ten months (335), and on that of the infant Samuel, who lived only one year and five months (401).

Besides linguistic data, these inscriptions, both Greek and Latin, reveal the names of 551 individual members of the Jewish community, the names of eleven of their synagogues, the organization of the community, the titles of their communal officials,⁴ and other significant facts about the life of the Roman Jews, who may have numbered as many as forty thousand during the early Empire, forming one of the two or three largest Jewish groups in the Diaspora of that time. This phase of the subject, however, is beyond the scope of the present paper.

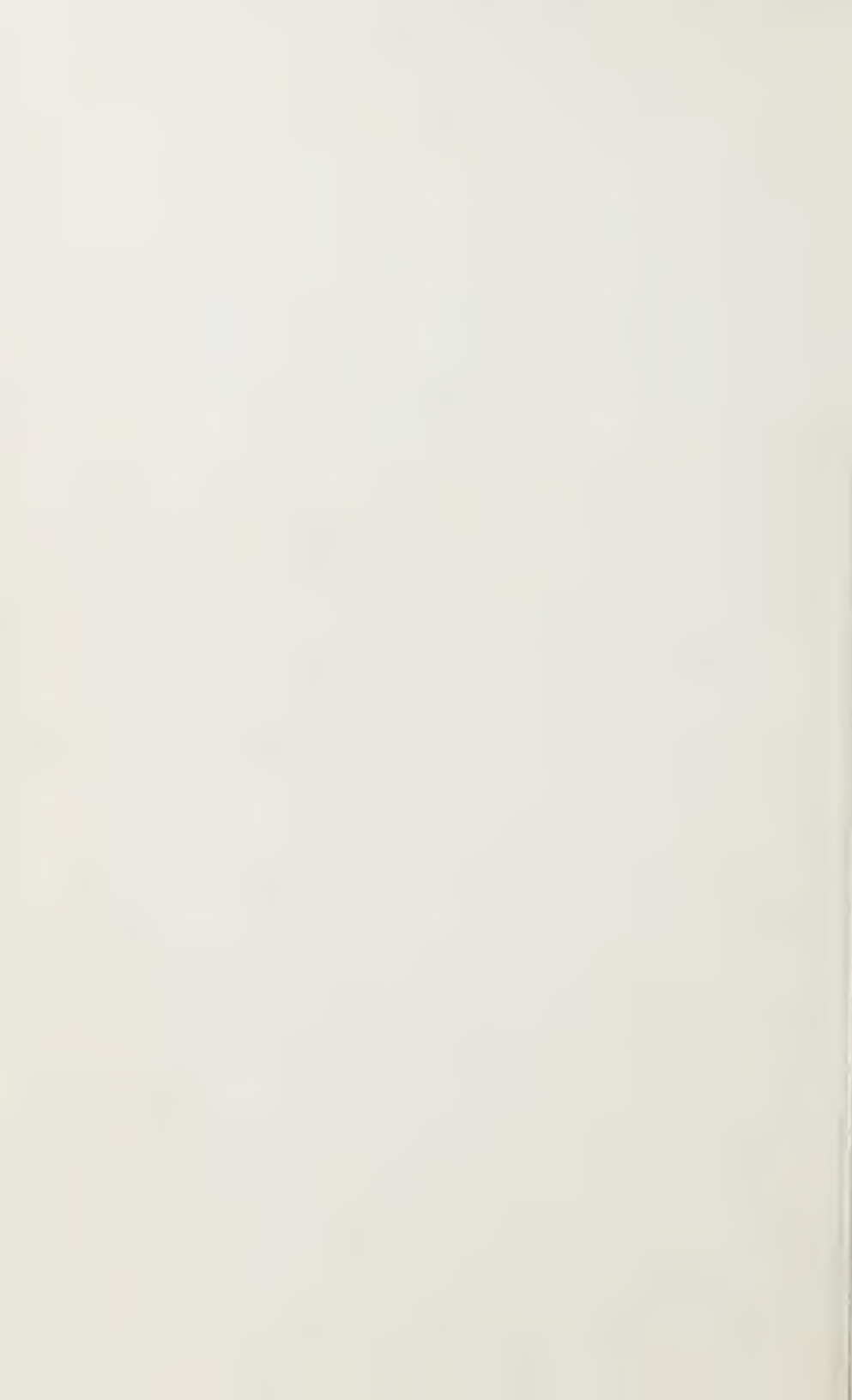
THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

⁴ See H. J. Leon, "The Names of the Jews of Ancient Rome," *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assn.*, 59 (1928), 205-224; "New Material about the Jews of Ancient Rome," *Jewish Quart. Rev.*, 20 (1929/30), 301-312. These matters will be treated extensively in the book mentioned above.



CLASSICAL SYSTEMS OF STASES IN
GREEK: HERMAGORAS TO
HERMOGENES

RAY NADEAU



IN SETTING FORTH THE FIRST FORMAL PLAN for pinpointing the main and subordinate stases (issues) of a problem, Hermagoras of Temnos established the basic pattern for later systems.¹ This paper is a sketch of the early history of systems of stases in Greek from their beginning in the second century B.C. to the time of Hermogenes in the second century A.D.

The pre-Hermagorean evolution of a theory of stases is obscure. That a prior theory did exist, at least in elementary form, is implicit in earlier practice (e.g., in the speeches of Lysias, Demosthenes, Aeschines, and others) and in manuals like the *Ad Alexandrum*² and the *Rhetoric*³ of Aristotle. Whatever its antecedents, the system of Hermagoras is not very well known or understood — as the foundation for later theories, it deserves some elaboration before we move on to other rhetoricians and to Hermogenes, the last figure of major significance in the classical history of stasis theories in Greek.

HERMAGORAS

Like Aristotle and others before him, Hermagoras considered all political (i.e., non-technical and unscientific) problems to be within the scope of rhetoric. For the practical solution of particular problems (hypotheses), as opposed to speculation on general problems (theses), Hermagoras prescribed four rational questions or stock issues, which can be paraphrased as follows: Is there a problem? What is the essence

¹ The original work is lost but the Hermagorean system has been reconstructed from sixty quotations from secondary Greek and Latin quotations. See C. W. Piderit, *Commentatio de Hermagore rhetore* (Hersfeld, 1839) and Georg Thiele, *Hermagoras* (Strassburg, 1893).

² 1442b 33 — 144a 15; note suggestions on what to say if facts are denied or if actions are defended.

³ Cf. 1374a, 1416b, 1417a, 1417b. See also Plato's *Gorgias* 453a, 459d, 460e; *Phaedrus* 261b and *Laws* 11. For general discussions of pre-Hermagorean uses of stasis, see Richard Volkmann, *Die Rhetorick der Griechen und Römer* (Leipzig, 1885), 38-92; Octave Navarre, *Essai sur la rhétorique Grecque avant Aristote* (Paris, 1900), 259-71; A.-Ed. Chaignet, *La rhétorique et son histoire* (Paris, 1888), 320-29. Quintilian also covers the subject in iii. 6.

of the problem? How serious is the problem from the standpoint of its non-essential attributes and attendant circumstances? Should there be any formal action on the problem (and, if so, should it be undertaken by this particular agency)? If a temporary disagreement or impasse arose on the first question, this "halt" or "standing still" was called *στάσις στοχασμός* (conjectural stasis); on the second question, it was called *ὅρος* (definition); on the third, *ποιότης* (quality); and on the fourth, *μετάληψις* (objection).⁴

How did these disagreements arise? In cases at law—and all systems of stases were strongly forensic in emphasis—a particular stasis could result from an initial charge (*κατάφασις*) and the answer to it (*ἀπόφασις*). For instance, to the charge that one killed another, a possible answer is that the one was within his rights to commit the act. The stasis or issue: Was the accused within his rights? With the question of "rights" hinging on an ancient rule of the road that it is lawful to kill one lying in ambush, the defense could contend through the so-called containment (*συνέχον*) that the one killed was lying in ambush, and the prosecution could reply through the accompanying attempt at controversion (*αἵτιον*) that he was not

⁴ Cicero and Quintilian say that Hermagoras was the inventor of *μετάληψις* (Latin *translatio*), but Cicero adds that many ancient orators employed it. Cic. *De inv.* i. ii. 16; Quint. iii. 6. 60. Among later writers including this form as a separate fourth stasis: Hermogenes, Aurelius Augustinus, Julius Victor, Sulpitius Victor, Cassiodorus, Alcuin, and Clodianus. The writer of the *Ad Herennium*, Cicero (except in the *De inventione*), Apollodorus, and Quintilian turned to three major stases as being sufficient. See Cic. *De inv.* i. 8-17, *De or.* ii. 26. 113, *Orator* 14, *Topica* 21-22, *Partitiones* 29-39; Quintilian vii. 4.

The *Ad Herennium* warrants special mention — forensic in emphasis but with some recognition of "Epideictic" and "Deliberative" (iii. 1-15), it is the first Latin rhetoric (c. 86 B.C.) and, possibly, it is also the first rhetoric after Hermagoras to have only three major stases: the *conjectural* dealing with questions of being as in Hermagoras, the *legal* encompassing questions of definition, of objection, and the four original legal questions of Hermagoras, and the *juridical* having to do with qualitative questions of right and wrong as in Hermagoras. The writer of the *Ad Herennium* does not refer to any source beyond his "teacher," but Caplan describes the stasis system as Hermagorean "in modified form." See *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, translated and annotated by Harry Caplan (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1954), xvi and xvii.; also *Ad Her.* i. 18-25. It may safely be said that all Latin systems are Hermagorean in modified form; in fact, the *Ad Herennium* is the widest variation from Hermagoras.

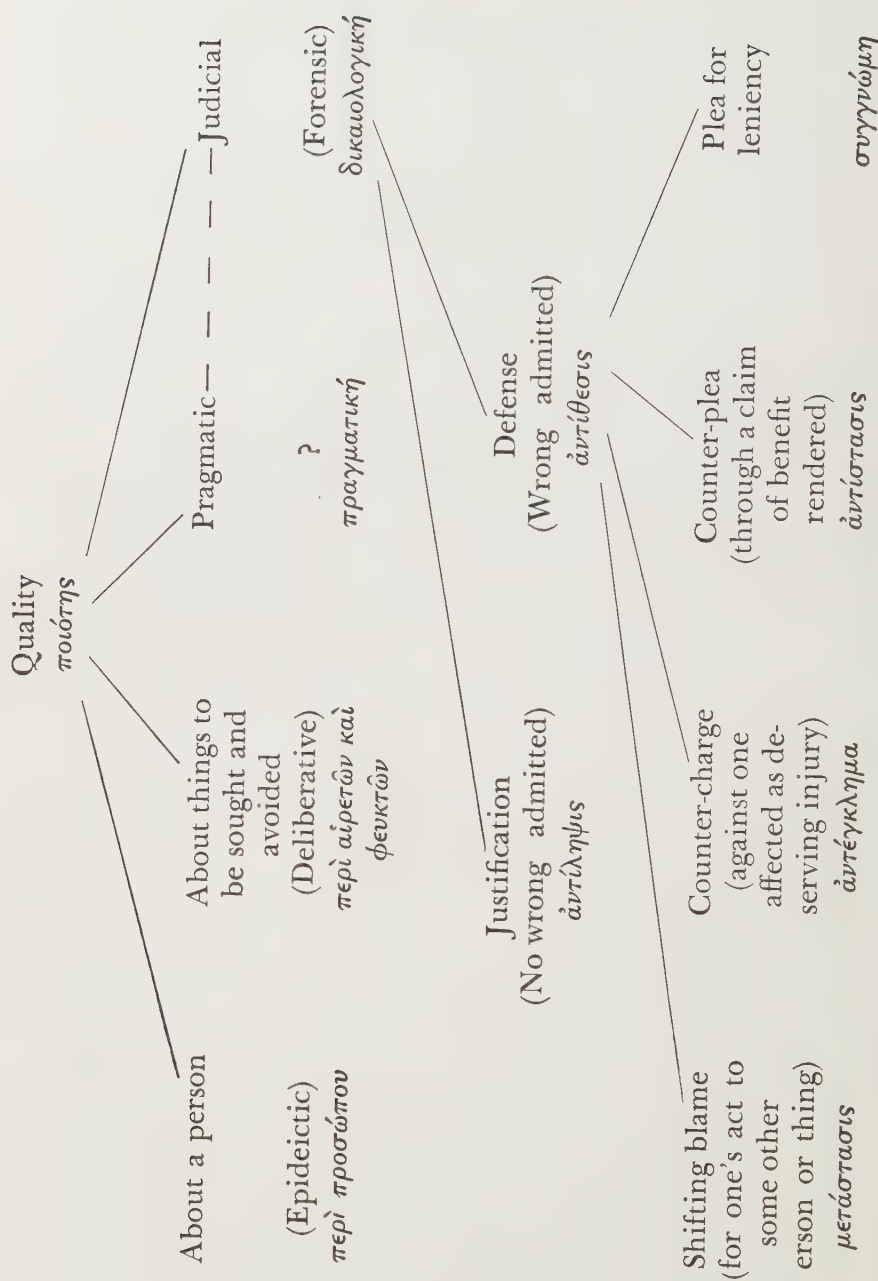
lying in ambush. The result is the point-for-adjudication (*τὸ κρινόμενον*), a new stasis arising out of the first: Did the one killed lie in ambush? Quite obviously, stasis is evident in the initial question and also in the second and in any subsequent questions resulting from positions taken on the first.

The exact instant in time at which stasis comes into being is relevant here, although we cannot point to Hermagoras as a source of specific comment on this subject. Quintilian summarizes the views of earlier theorists by saying (iii. 6. 11) that some believe stasis to result from the *first conflict* of contradictory statements as in the question above, "Was the accused within his rights?" He adds (iii. 6. 13) that others believe that stasis arises from the *first specific point of defense* as in the question, "Did the one killed lie in ambush?" Quintilian further notes in this and succeeding passages that some say that it is *either the defendant or the prosecutor* who gives rise to stasis—if a statement is being contradicted, the person presenting that opposition is responsible for the consequent stasis.⁵ However interesting this kind of speculation may be, both ancients and moderns are in substantial agreement that, when a stasis or issue occurs, it takes the form of a question used as a focus for the contrary views of proponents and opponents. Those presenting the better answer to the question succeed in breaking the stasiastic impasse in their favor.

Thus far, we have seen how Hermagoras proposed four major questions to be used in analyzing a particular problem. We have also seen how issues or stases result from disagreement on these questions, and we have reviewed Quintilian's summary of views on the precise time at which a stasis comes into being. Of the four major questions, the first, second, and fourth are uncomplicated, but let us now examine the Hermagorean stases at the qualitative level: How serious is the problem? According to Thiele's reconstruction of the system (with translation of terms added), stasis of quality may be diagrammed⁶ as follows:

⁵ For further elaboration of Quintilian's views, see Jean Cousin, *Etudes sur Quintilien*, 1 (Paris, 1936), 177-79.

⁶ Thiele, *op. cit.*, 85.



Although the term "Epideictic" has meant different things at different times in the history of literature, in ancient rhetoric it was commonly used to describe a *speech of display* presented for the critical observer (ὁ θεώρος) concerned with the present merit of the speech itself and not with past (forensic) or future (deliberative) action. This is the interpretation we find in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*,⁷ in the *Ad Alexandrum*,⁸ and in other rhetorics.⁹ In such a speech, we may assume that *expressed* opposition to the views of the speaker (with resultant stases) would not be too frequent.

If strictly epideictic speeches of the type above are not the natural habitat of stases, open contradiction of a speaker's evaluation of a person or thing could certainly occur as a part of the deliberative or forensic processes, and the inclusion of epideictic elements in these modes was common. Demosthenes' *On The Crown*, for example, is forensic but consists almost entirely of praise and blame, the ends of epideictic thinking; similarly, the *Panegyricus* and *Panathenaicus* of Isocrates are primarily deliberative (i.e., addressed to the assembly to recommend a policy of union against Persia) but employ topics characteristic of a speech of praise. This use of epideictic components in forensic and deliberative situations was also formally recognized in the *Ad Alexandrum*, which includes a detailed treatment of epideictic within an over-all classification of oratory as belonging either to the assembly or to the courts.¹⁰ The same idea is found in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* where he points out that the aims of one kind of speaking may be subsidiary to the aims of another kind—in other words, praise and blame could be used to achieve the ends of forensic and deliberative types.¹¹

⁷ *Rhetoric* 1358b — 1350a.

⁸ *Ad Alexandrum* 35. 10.

⁹ Cf. *Ad Herennium* iii. 8. 15; Philodemus, col. 32, I, 213, Sudhas, transl. H. M. Hubbell, *The Rhetorica of Philodemus* (New Haven, 1920), 303f.; Quintilian iii. 4. 14.

¹⁰ *Ad Alexandrum* 35 and I. 4-5.

¹¹ *Rhetoric* 1358b.

Delivered as display, or as separate "wholes" or partial "cells" in deliberative and forensic situations, epideictic speeches were characterized from earliest times by a flexible but fairly standard series of topics (i.e., potential subordinate stases). In his discussion of encomium as one of the kinds of speeches of praise, Aristotle says this type concerns a man's good birth, training, actual deeds, and comparison of these factors with those of men of note.¹² Among the writers of school exercises or *progymnasmata*, the topics for encomium, as well as for censure, may be said to fall into the same three divisions plus the fourth mode for treatment of them: (1) circumstances of background and birth, (2) education, (3) achievements of soul, body, and fortune, and (4) comparison of the foregoing with the same headings in relation to other gods or persons.¹³ With some adaptation, it is easy to see how this four-fold plan could also be used to speak of cities and other things by dealing with (1) their founders or inventors, (2) their growth or development, (3) their attributes or outstanding qualities, and (4) comparison of them with other cities or things.

Burgess reconstructs the essential features of the "ordinary encomium of a person" as follows: (1) introduction, (2) ancestry, (3) noteworthy circumstances of birth, (4) circumstances of youth, (5) deeds of ordinary choice including one's profession, (6) deeds of special valor and virtue in war and in peace, (7) comparison of all kinds, incidental or comprehensive, and (8) conclusion.¹⁴ Excluding introduction and

¹² *Ibid.* 1367b — 1368a.

¹³ See the analysis of topics of encomium in T. C. Burgess, *Epideictic Literature* (Chicago, 1902), 120. The four topics are listed with appropriate sub-topics by Aphthonius; they appear on page 273 of my translation of "The Progymnasmata of Aphthonius," *Speech Monographs* 19 (November, 1952) which also includes an encomium of Thucydides and a censure of Philip as examples. Cf. Hermogenes' description of encomium and censure in the translation of his *Progymnasmata* by C. S. Baldwin, *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic* (New York, 1928), 30-33.

¹⁴ Burgess, *op. cit.*, 122-126. Burgess goes back to the *Euagoras* of Isocrates as the earliest instance of an encomium in its permanent form. For

conclusion, the six topics in this list cover the same ground and those used in the exercises. In either case (*progymnasmata* or actual practice), my point is that a speech of praise employed traditional topics as vantage points from which to follow the course of a subject's life from beginning to end and to compare it, concurrently or subsequently, with the life or lives of others. Available for speeches of blame as well as for speeches of praise, these topics were so generally accepted that neither Hermagoras nor any other writer would feel any particular need to list or explain them.

"Deliberative" stases also fell into traditional categories: (1) justice and legality of a proposal, (2) need for action on it, (3) practicability, and (4) additional considerations such as honor, satisfaction to be derived, and so on.¹⁵ These are still stock issues in our present-day legislative halls and deliberative assemblies of all kinds.

The diagram gives no meaning for "Pragmatic" because there is considerable debate on what Hermogoras meant by that term. That he intended it to be parallel to "Forensic," all authorities agree. Cicero interprets the word as meaning "concerned with matters of fact" according to legal precedent and equity in contrast to "questions of right and wrong."¹⁶ Quintilian felt that it meant general questions, or theses, arising out of particular cases; e.g., discussing whether one kind of act is good or bad without reference to the particular act giving rise to the more general question.¹⁷ Thiele says that Quintilian's view is out of place in a discussion of the proper handling of hypotheses;¹⁸ Kroll agrees and adds that Cicero's

a discussion of eulogies or encomia by rhetors of the Empire, especially Menander, see Sr. J. A. Stein, *Encomium of Saint Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, on His Brother, Saint Basil*. . . ("The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies," 17 [Brookland, D. C.; 1929]), xxxiii-xli.

¹⁵ My article, "Hermogenes on 'Stock Issues' in Deliberative Speaking," *Speech Monographs* 25 (March, 1958), 59-66.

¹⁶ Cic. *De inv.* i. 11. 14.

¹⁷ Quint. iii. 6. 57.

¹⁸ Thiele, *op. cit.*, 56.

interpretation may be correct, but that the same is true of Hermogenes' use of the word in the sense of "deliberative" speaking—neither of these interpretations, according to Kroll, is necessarily what Hermagoras had in mind.¹⁹

Accepting the Ciceronian view as a basis for further speculation on Aristotelian echoes in the Hermagorean system, it is possible, in my opinion, that Hermagoras was using *πραγματική* as a term encompassing proofs (*πίσταις*) not invented (*ἄτεχναι*) by the orator in correlation with the forensic-judicial *δικαιολογική*, the former term having to do with determination of the facts and of pertinent laws and customs bearing on those facts, and the latter term having to do with proofs invented (*ἐντεχναι*) to show the justice or injustice of the charge or claim at hand.²⁰ Unfortunately, there are no documents available at this time to help us determine exactly what Hermagoras meant by "Pragmatic."

The diagram shows "Forensic" stases in sufficient detail.

In addition to the four *rational* questions, or stases, which Hermagoras posed for the analysis of hypotheses, he also listed four *legal* questions (*νομικά ζητήματα*) without, so far as we know, calling them stases:

1. *κατὰ ῥητὸν καὶ ὑπεξαίρεσιν*—according to letter and exceptions (thereto). For example,²¹ an ancient law provided that, if an alien should mount a city's walls, he should be put to death. In defense of a city, an alien did mount the walls; should he be put to death?

¹⁹ Wilhelm Kroll, "Die *πραγματική στάσις* des Hermagoras," *Philologus*, 91 (1936), 205. See also Hermann Throm, *Die Thesis* ("Rhetorische Studien," 17 [Paderborn, 1932]), 96f.

²⁰ Aristotle's *Rhetoric* 1354b, 1355a, 1355b, 1375a.

²¹ All the examples in this paper are paraphrases of traditional illustrations from my unpublished translation of Hermogenes' *On Stases* (*περὶ στάσεων*) based on the text in Georgius Kowalski's critical edition, *Hermogenes De Statibus* (Warsaw, 1947).

2. ἀντινομία—contrary law. One law provided that one disinherited should not inherit his father's goods. Another provided that one remaining on a derelict should gain possession of it. A young man, disinherited by his father, remains on a derelict belonging (before abandonment by passengers and crew) to his father; does he gain possession of it?
3. ἀμφιβολία—ambiguous law. A law provided that one violated should demand either marriage or the death of the violator. A certain man violated two women on the same night. One demands marriage, the other demands execution; which demand has precedence?
4. συλλογισμός—inference (from written to unwritten law). A law permitted the slaying of an exile returning without permission. Such an exile was apprehended, flogged, and released; was the flogging permissible?

Finally, Hermagoras prescribed four questions incapable of the condition of stasis (ἀσύστατα):

1. ἐλλιπές—deficient; insufficient evidence to constitute a case.
2. ἰσάζον—in balance; evidence so equally distributed on both sides so that a state of balance cannot be overcome.
3. μονομερές—one-sided; having the weight of evidence concentrated on one side, so that no real contest can take place.
4. ἄπορον—inconclusive; a question on which it is difficult, if not impossible, to reach a conclusion. For instance, Alexander was said to have been urged in a dream not to have confidence in dreams.

Thus, in summary of the system of Hermagoras who seems to have had a predilection for the number "four," we have (1) the four *rational stases* of conjecture, definition, quality (with traditional subordinate stases *understood* for

epideictic and deliberative speaking, *stated* for forensic speaking), and objection; (2) the four *legal questions* of letter-and-exception, contrary law, ambiguous law, and inference; and (3) the four *asystatic questions* of deficiency, balance, one-sidedness, and inconclusiveness.

POSIDONIUS

Posidonius of Rhodes (c. 135–51/50 B.C.), a teacher of Cicero²² and one of the last of the great Stoics, divided stases into those concerned with *things* and those concerned with *words*.²³ The former correspond in general to Hermagoras' rational stases; the latter have points in common with Hermagoras' legal questions. The stases of *things* are as follows:

1. κατ' αἴσθησιν—by sense-perception; i.e., becoming aware of the existence of a thing through this means.
2. ποιότης—quality.
3. κατ' ἔσσοιαν—by reflection; i.e., definition of a thing by reflective classification of it.
4. πρὸς τι—relation.

The order of the terms above comes to us through Quintilian—a characteristic working sequence would have definition in second position and quality in third. To the Stoics, αἴσθησις (sensation) is the process by which the mind reaches out and

²² E. Vernon Arnold, *Roman Stoicism* (Cambridge, 1911), 104. Arnold here describes Posidonius' high reputation in the eyes of important Romans including Cicero whom he met at Rhodes in 78 B.C.

²³ For comment on the system of Posidonius, see Francis Striller, "De Stoicorum Studiis Rhetoricis," *Breslauer Philologische Abhandlungen* 1, No. 2, (1886), 15f. For the system itself, I depend on Quint. iii. 6. 37. Earlier Stoics, notably Cleanthes and Chrysippus are known to have written manuals on rhetoric; see Quint. ii. 15. 35, Striller, *op. cit.*, 7-14, and Christian Petersen, *Philosophiae Chrysippeae Fundamenta* (Hamburg, 1827), 218-221. Of the three systems, it is only that of Posidonius that can be reconstructed in any detail at this time. Primary Stoic sources are fragmentary; see J. Arnim, ed., *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, 3 vols, (Leipzig, 1903-5) with an *Index Verborum* (Vol.4) published in 1924.

becomes aware of the *existence of an object* through a "mind-picture" of it.²⁴ This sensory picture, in company with many others, becomes registered in the mind (ἐν νῶ) and makes possible higher level abstraction or *definition* according to classes of things. ποιότης, as in Hermagoras, means *quality* of non-essential kinds as distinguished from essential quality encompassed by definition. πρὸς τι is *relation* or quality of a coincidental or accidental type not a part of the being, act, or thing itself; in this sense, the term is a reasonable but more general substitute for the specific relational μέταληψις used by Hermagoras.

In testing or contesting meaning, if we accept Quintilian as authority, Posidonius again took a more elementary position than Hermagoras and posed four questions which could be asked about any specific word (φωνή): Does it have a meaning? What is the meaning? How many meanings has it? How does it come to mean what it means? Stases of *words* would result from opposing answers to these questions; points in common with Hermagoras' legal questions clearly exist.

In his *Pompey* (42.6), Plutarch recalls that Posidonius described a lecture of his own against Hermagoras on the subject of investigation in general. What he had to say is not known to us, since Posidonius approaches rational stases from a strictly physical base and stases of words from a very elementary word-unit point of view, it is possible that he criticized Hermagoras for his more abstract and complex terminology. Otherwise, the two systems are much the same.

APOLLODORUS

In a two-fold pattern of analysis reminiscent of Archedemus,²⁵ Apollodorus of Pergamum (c. 104–22 B.C.) calls

²⁴ For a discussion of the importance to the Stoics of knowledge-through-the-sense, read Arnold, *op. cit.*, 130–37.

²⁵ Archedemus of Tarsus, a lesser Stoic of the second century B.C. Quintilian notes his two stases, conjecture and definition, in iii. 6. 31. Definition in such a system would embrace both essential and non-essential quality.

stasis of being or conjecture τὸ πραγματικόν, *the fact(s)*. Under a second heading of περὶ ἐννοίας *about reflection* (on the facts), he prescribes consideration of quality (ποιότης) and definition (περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος), not necessarily in that order. So here, under two major heads, we have three standard stases: conjecture, definition, and quality.²⁶

Apollodorus excludes as a *separate major stasis* the fourth Hermagorean form of objection (μετάληψις; in Posidonius, πρὸς τι). Precedent for the exclusion had already been established in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*,²⁷ in which the Latin equivalent of *translatio* is numbered among legal questions; in that work, dealing primarily with forensic speaking, *constitutio legitima* takes the place of stasis of definition and, as *legal stasis*, includes definition plus objection and the four legal questions of Hermagoras for a total of six subordinate stases. (Both Cicero, except in the *De inventione*, and Quintilian exclude *translatio* as a fourth major stasis.)²⁸

THEODORUS

A rival of Apollodorus,²⁹ Theodorus of Gadara (fl. 33 B.C.), taught a system of five stases at Rhodes. His term for conjectural stasis is περὶ τῆς οὐσίας, *about being in general*. A second major head, περὶ τῶν συμβεβηκότων, *about contingent attributes*, is subdivided into τί *being in particular* (i.e., its name), ποιόν *quality*, ποσόν *quantity*, and πρὸς τι *relation*. This system of five stases under two major heads bears a closer relationship, in its terms at least, to the first four categories of Aristotle (οὐσία, ποσόν, ποιόν, πρὸς τι) than any other pattern

²⁶ Quint. iii. 6.35-6; C. W. Piderit, *De Appollodoro . . . et Theodoro* (Marburg, 1842), 30-33.

²⁷ See n. 4.

²⁸ Citations in n. 4.

²⁹ Apollodoreans regarded rhetoric as a science with inflexible norms and Theodoreans considered it an art with inherent flexibility and adaptability. For the specific differences between the two groups, consult Martin Schanz, "Die Apollodoreer und die Theodoreer," *Hermes*, 25 (1890), 36-54.

in ancient literature.³⁰ For a major *στάσις*, Theodorus uses *κεφάλαιον γενικώτατον*, *most general head* (i.e., main stasis or issue to which other considerations are subordinate).

Neither the system of Apollodorus nor that of Theodorus was particularly popular. Their views, bearing little resemblance to those of Hermagoras, are of historical interest but their influence on the theory of stases was negligible.

MINUCIAN

Minucian, the elder, was a rhetor of the second century A.D. who stood for philosophic rhetoric as opposed to the sophistic rhetoric of a rival, Hermogenes of Tarsus. Minucian's position was out of step with his times; only fragments of his views on stases remain as testaments to his rejection of the sophistic attitude.³¹

In Minucian, the legal questions of Hermagoras become a part of the stasis system proper as qualitative *legal stases* to be distinguished from qualitative *rational stases* on the thing done (forensic) or on the thing to be done (deliberative).³² Epideictic stasis is not considered.

Like Hermogenes, Minucian has a basic organization of thirteen stases but his definitions are given from the standpoint of the accused, whereas those of Hermogenes are presented from the point of view of the one making a charge or upholding a proposition.³³ Minucian says that stasis can occur in connection with either persons *or* things done; Hermogenes believes that perfect stasis involves *both* persons and

³⁰ Aristotle *Cat.* 1b26 *et passim*. Quintilian says that the first four categories seem to concern stases (iii. 6. 24.), but he does not pursue the matter nor does he present any convincing case for his generalization. For a reconstruction of the system of Theodorus, see Piderit, *De Apollodoro*. . . , 3-33.

³¹ Minucian's system is summarized in Pauly-Wissowa, cols. 1980-84, Part 2, Vol. 15. For a reconstruction of the system from fragments and commentaries and for a comparison of it with that of Hermogenes of Tarsus, see Stephanus Gloeckner, "Quaestiones Rhetoricae," *Breslauer Philologische Abhandlungen* 8, No. 2 (1901), 1-115.

³² Gloeckner, *op. cit.*, 44f.

³³ *Ibid.*, 27.

things done.³⁴ Minucian lists six kinds of persons; Hermogenes describes seven.³⁵ Other minor variations occur—for instance, the four kinds of antithetical stases found in Hermagoras are not in the same order in Minucian and in Hermogenes.³⁶ Further, Hermagoras' views on how stasis comes into being are repeated by Minucian but ignored by Hermogenes.³⁷

Again, Hermagoras presents objection (μετάληψις) without subdivisions; both Minucian and Hermogenes present it with subdivision into written or unwritten forms, e.g., objection to indictment on a basis of law or on a basis of circumstances surrounding an act.³⁸

In spite of their differences on principle, it is clear that Minucian and Hermogenes offer essentially the same systems of stases.³⁹

HERMOGENES

Hermogenes of Tarsus (fl. A.D. 170) wrote the most thorough exposition *On Stases* (περὶ στάσεων) that has come down to us from ancient times. Like Minucian, he discusses stases in relation only to forensic and deliberative speaking, and he recognizes legal questions as a second general classification of qualitative issues. A practical "revised edition" of Hermagoras, there is little really new in the work except, possibly, (1) the introduction of a "subordinate" pattern of organization, (2) the addition of four asystatic questions (not susceptible to stasis) to the original four asystatic forms of

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 28.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 29.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 33.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 112.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 47.

³⁹ Telephus of Pergamum is another contemporary who agreed with Minucian and Hermogenes on thirteen stases but, otherwise, we know little about his system. See H. Schrader, "Zur Zeitbestimmung der Schrift. . .," *Hermes*, 38 (October, 1902), 145. Cf. Radermacher, *Pauly-Wissowa VIII*, col. 870.

Hermagoras, and (3) the appending of three near-asystatic questions.

Assuming that the systems of Hermagoras and of his immediate successors (including the system in the *Ad Herennium* and those in the works of Cicero and Quintilian) were *coordinate* in that each of the major stases enjoyed equal and separate status, Hermogenes may be credited with introducing to stases a *subordinate* system in which three of the four major stases "grow out of" the first and each is in turn subordinate to the preceding stasis. According to Hermogenes, the existence of a thing is doubtful (conjectural) or obvious;⁴⁰ if obvious, the thing is undefined or defined; if defined, it is unqualified or qualified; if qualified, it is not, or it is, subject to formal action. (The same "either . . . or" pattern continues throughout the entire system of Hermogenes.) This approach is typically Stoic in its consideration of the different categories in which a single entity might be studied from the successively subordinate standpoints of its being, definition, quality, and relation to other persons or things.⁴¹ The plan is also in direct parallel to the four basic judgments which Aristotle, in his *Topica*, considers appropriate in upholding dialectical propositions: genus (γένος), definition (ὅρος), non-essential quality (ἴδιον), and coincidental quality (τὸ συμβεβηκόν).⁴² This analytical system, also one of subordination of

⁴⁰ See Kowalski's edition (note 21) or *Hermogenis Opera*, ed. H. Rabe ("Rhetores Graeci," 6 [Leipzig, 1913]), 28-92. In Kowalski, the first "either. . . or" instance is on lines 3 and 4, page 10; in Rabe, lines 10 and 11, page 36. For an outline showing subordinate structure in more detail, see Gualtherus Jaeneke, *De Statuum Doctrina ab Hermogene tradita* (Leipzig, 1904), 121.

⁴¹ The following works are among those providing interpretations of the Stoic categories: Eduard Zeller, *The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics*, trans. O. J. Reichel (London, 1870), 95ff.; E. Vernon Arnold, *op. cit.*, 164-69; Max Pohlenz, *Die Stoa* (Göttingen, 1948), 69-75; Emile Bréhier, *Chrysippe et l'ancien Stoicisme* (Paris, 1951), 132ff.; Benson Mates, *Stoic Logic*, 26 (University of California Publications in Philosophy [Berkeley, 1953]), 18ff.; and Margaret E. Reesor, "The Stoic Categories," *American Journal of Philology*, 78 (January, 1957), 63-82.

⁴² *Topica* 101a29 and 101b4. The basic list of five judgements (101b17-25) is reduced to four by ranking differentia with genus. Later logicians used a list omitting *definition* and adding *species* (εἶδος) to make up the following

all terms to the first and of each term to the preceding one, presumably had some influence on Zeno (336–264 B.C.), the first of the Stoics, and on his followers.⁴³

These are the asystatic questions of Hermogenes with explanations and with his examples where necessary:

1. *μονομερές*—one-sided. See earlier section on Hermagoras.
2. *ισάζον διόλου*—completely balanced. Again, Hermagoras.
3. *αντιστρέφον*—reversible. One man demands loan plus interest from another who claims the sum in question is a deposit in trust. After passage of a law cancelling debts, the first demands his “deposit” and the second says that his “debt” is cancelled.
4. *ἄπορον*—inconclusive. See section on Hermagoras.
5. *ἀπίθανον*—incredible; such as a story of Socrates’ doing wrong.
6. *ἀδύνατον*—impossible. “The Pythian (Apollo) is a false oracle.”
7. *ἄδοξον*—despicable. Someone hiring out his wife for improper relations hales into court one refusing to pay.
8. *ἀπεριστάτον*—deficient in evidence; without motivating circumstances. For instance, someone publicly renounces his son for no apparent reasons. See *ἐλλιπές* in Hermagoras.

Hermogenes’ near-asystatic questions:

1. *ἐτερορορεπές*—preponderate; evidence much stronger on one side than on the other but not so one-sided as entirely to preclude the possibility of successful formal action by the apparently weaker side.
2. *κακόπλαστον*—ill-advised. It is ill-advised, for instance, to

series: genus, species, differentia, property, and accident; this list passed into Europe through Porphyry (b. A. D. 233) Boetius (fl. 500 A. D.). For the history of this development, see H. W. B. Joseph, *An Introduction to Logic* (Oxford, 1916), 66-75.

⁴³ Zeller et al. See citations in note 31.

deliberate about the assignment of a general who, unknown to those deliberating, has already been killed in action.

3. *προειλημμένον*—pre-judged. Almost any act of wrongdoing will be overlooked if it becomes known only through one's performing a service to society; e.g., a woman may be pardoned for improper relations if she betrays a tyrant through knowledge gained in her relations with him.

We are now in a position to compare, in simplified outline form, the stasis systems of Hermagoras and Hermogenes.

Hermagoras (2nd c. B.C.)
Coordinate System
(11 Stases)

Hermogenes (2nd c. A.D.)
Subordinate System
(13 Stases)

Rational Stases:

- I. Conjecture (1)
- II. Definition (2)
- III. Quality
 - Epidictic (3)
 - Deliberative (4)
 - Pragmatic (5)
 - Forensic
 - Justification (6)
 - Defense of wrong
 - Shifting blame (7)
 - Counter-charge (8)
 - Counter-plea (9)
 - Plea for leniency (10)
- IV. Objection (11)

Legal Questions:

- 1. Letter and exception
- 2. Contrary law
- 3. Ambiguous law
- 4. Inference from law

Stases:

- I. Conjecture (1)
- A. Definition (2)
 - 1. Quality
 - Rational stases*
 - Deliberative (3)
 - Forensic
 - Justification (4)
 - Defense of wrong
 - Shifting blame (5)
 - Counter-charge (6)
 - Counter-plea (7)
 - Plea for leniency (8)

Legal stases

- Letter and intent (9)
- Contrary law (10)
- Ambiguous law (11)
- Inference from law (12)
- a. Objection (13)

Asystatic Questions:

1. Deficient
2. Balanced
3. One-sided
4. Inconclusive

Asystatic Questions:

1. One-sided
2. Balanced
3. Reversible
4. Inconclusive
5. Incredible
6. Impossible
7. Despicable
8. Deficient

Near-Asystatic Questions:

1. Preponderate
2. Ill-advised
3. Prejudged

In summary, then, the two systems are practically the same, although the stases of Hermagoras appear to have been listed in simple order, or coordinately, while those of Hermogenes follow a plan of definite subordination. Under Hermagoras, epideictic stasis is mentioned but no subordinate stases are given, either because his treatment of this area is lost or, more probably, because the traditional topics were taken for granted; under Hermogenes, epideictic is omitted from the formal stasis system but this omission is due, in my opinion, to ancient recognition of the fact that a speech which was epideictic in theme and in form could also be deliberative or forensic in its aims—epideictic stasis, then, would usually occur in epideictic-deliberative or in epideictic-forensic situations rather than those of pure epideictic-display.⁴⁴ Neither writer goes into any detail on deliberative stasis, another area for which sub-topics were traditional.⁴⁵ For another difference, the legal questions of Hermagoras become legal stases in Hermogenes; however, they had been so considered by some writers as early as the first century B.C.⁴⁶ Finally, Hermogenes lengthens the list of asystatic questions and adds three near-asystatic questions; all of these were, possibly, “public domain” in his day.

⁴⁴ See section on Hermagoras and notes 7-14.

⁴⁵ Hermagoras and note 15.

⁴⁶ See note 4.

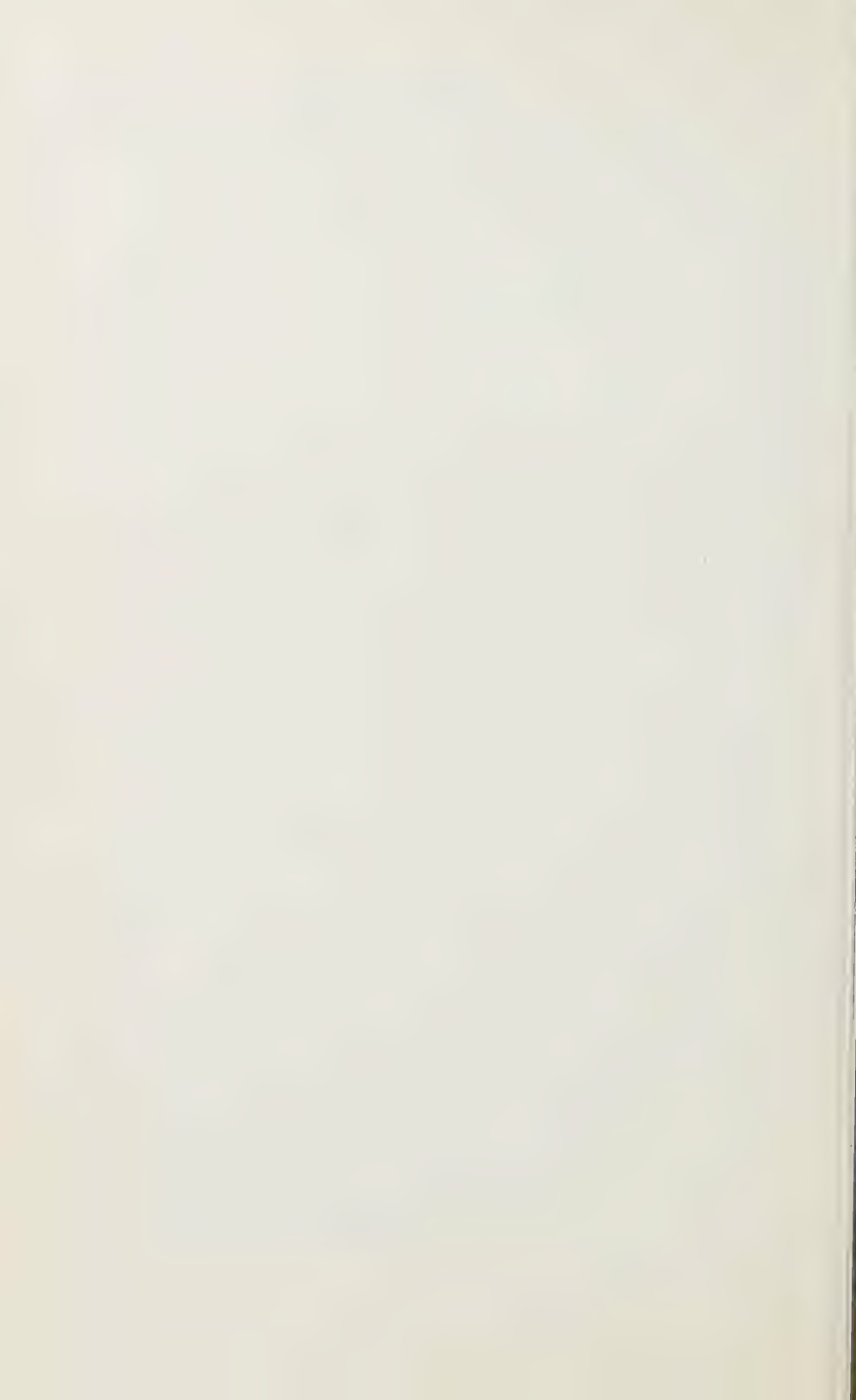
We conclude that the system of Hermagoras, which first appeared in the second century B.C., remained current for approximately three centuries in spite of revisions and the publication of rival systems. In the system of Hermogenes we have Hermagoras with some changes suggested by other writers and by Hermogenes himself;⁴⁷ it is this Hermogenean version of the stases of Hermagoras which, as a part of the "corpus"⁴⁸ of Hermogenes, was destined for many centuries of popularity in the schools of the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance.⁴⁹ Indeed, modern writers would be hard put to show any appreciable improvement over the stasis theories of the ancients in general and, in particular, over the analysis of issues or stases found in Hermagoras and Hermogenes.

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⁴⁷ A brief comparison of Hermagoras and Hermogenes can be found in Wilhelm von Christ, *Geschichte der Griechischen Litteratur* ("Handbuch der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft," Vol. VII, Part 2[Munich, 1924]), 932. Cf. Radermacher, *Pauly-Wissowa* 8, cols. 865-77; this reference deals with Hermogenes and influences on him by Hermagoras and others.

⁴⁸ Hermogenes wrote a complete digest of the rhetorical theory of his time in five treatises: a set of progymnasmata or school exercises and separate works on invention, stases, style, and delivery. Only those on stases and on style are generally recognized as completely the work of Hermogenes. See the Rabe edition of Hermogenes (note 40), iii and ix-xii. For a translation of the progymnasmata, see C. S. Baldwin, *loc. cit.* (note 13). My translation of the *On Stases* is not yet ready for publication; the other works in this group have not been translated into a modern language.

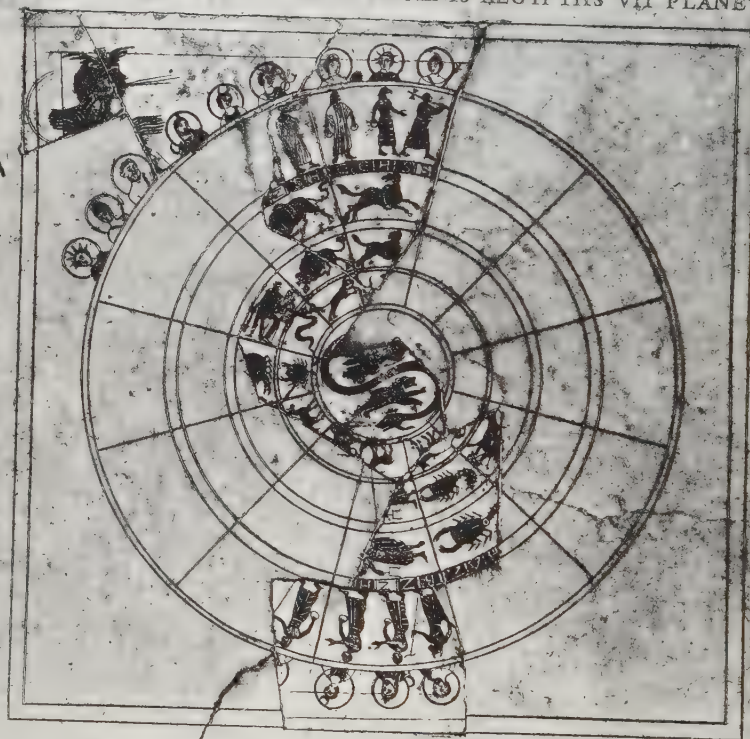
⁴⁹ Gloeckner, *op. cit.*, 1, attests to the influence of Hermogenes in Byzantine times: "Hermogenis auctoritatem maximam fuisse Byzantinorum aevo inter omnes satis constat." Wimsatt and Brooks say that the medieval models for studies in verbal meaning and composition were late Hellenistic, like the *Ad Herennium*, or Second Sophistic, as in Latin derivations from Hermogenes — see William K. Wimsatt, Jr., and Cleanth Brooks, *Literary Criticism* (New York, 1957), 143. For many references to Hermogenes in the Renaissance, see T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakspeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke*, 2 vols. (Urbana, 1944), *passim*. A visit to the rare book room of any major library will surprise one with the number of Renaissance editions of Hermogenes in Greek and in Latin. The full story of the influence of Hermogenes has yet to be written.



FURTHER NOTES ON
'A JEWISH-GNOSTIC AMULET
OF THE ROMAN PERIOD'

CHARLES H. KAHN
DANIEL E. GERSHENSON
MORTON SMITH

FRAGMENTVM PLANISPHERII VRSARVM ET DRACONIS IMAGINIBVS INSCRIPTVM
IVXTA PHOENICIOS ET GRAECOS NECNON XII ASTERISMIS BOREALIBVS CHALDAE
ORVM ET SIGNIS ZODIACI DECANIS AC TERMINIS AEGYPTIIS VII PLANETARVM



EFFOSSVM IN MONTE AVENTINO ANNO MDCCV

PARIS. LOUVRE. PLANISPHERE BIANCHINI

I.

In *Greek and Byzantine Studies* for July, 1958, Professor E. R. Goodenough proposed for discussion a most interesting gem or amulet, together with some tentative suggestions as to the meaning of the inscribed figures (pp. 71-80). Since the object presents so many riddles, and since it seems to have been inspired by Greek as well as by Hebrew ideas, there is perhaps room for suggestions from readers who are not at all specialists in the history of oriental religions.

What I find most puzzling is the snake circling an omphalos which appears within the zodiac on one of the two principal faces of the stone (p. 72, fig. 2). As Professor Goodenough points out, we would expect to find the zodiac accompanied by a celestial figure, such as Helios. The omphalos is of course the navel of the earth, but can it be the navel of the sky? Only, I think, if our snake also belongs in heaven. And of course we do not have to look far to find such a celestial serpent. Even more appropriate than the Sun in the center of the zodiac is the ancient polar constellation, the Dragon. Draco is very clearly indicated in this place on one of the best-preserved of all ancient zodiacs, the Planisphere Bianchini in the Louvre (see Plate 6), and the same symbolism is attested, in freer artistic form, on Pompeian paintings of the shield of Achilles.¹ In the more scientifically conceived Planisphere, the polar beast actually bears some resemblance to the visible constellation; while in the wall paintings (as in our amulet) it is simply shown as a snake.

If the snake is Draco, the boss on which it lies should be the pole or heavenly vault rather than the navel of the earth. Of course it may very well represent both at the same time, but the celestial reference is the more obvious and, it seems to me, the more meaningful. With the zodiac, the Sun, and the Moon unmistakably identified, it is natural to look for an astronomical explanation of all the figures on this face. The seven dots next to the Sun should symbolize either the seven planets (counting the Sun and Moon in their number) or else the spheres in which these planets stand. The outer sphere of the fixed stars has already been recognized in the zodiac and the polar constellations. The only sphere still missing from a complete representation of the cosmos is the terrestrial or sublunar region — and the only figure left unexplained on this side of the amulet is a small circle *underneath the Moon*. It naturally represents the earth.

Assuming, then, that this face of the little stone refers to heaven — or to heaven and earth taken together as God's creation (as in *Ge. 1.1*) — we may give the Adam-and-Eve scene on the other side its usual significance, as the image of man's sin. The two sides of the

¹ See O. Brendel, "Der Schild des Achilles," *Die Antike*, 12 (1936), 273ff., with Plates 16 and 20.

amulet thus present a clear and forceful image of the antithesis between Good and Evil, between the holy snake of the Lord of Heaven and the disastrous serpent of sin. The thought behind the imagery seems to correspond exactly to an idea developed by Philo Judaeus, which Goodenough has cited elsewhere in discussing the significance of snakes on amulets:

To Philo, excesses in pleasure . . . are typified in the serpent of Eve, the serpent which is the pleasure-seeking principle in life, and which "ruins the soul by vice." The cure for this ruin is to turn to Moses, like the people bitten by snakes in the wilderness, acknowledge the sin, and ask his mediation. To help them, Philo explains, God told Moses to give the people a serpent, "opposite in kind to that of Eve," and representing the principle of self-control. . . . Hence, "if the mind, when bitten by pleasure, the serpent of Eve, shall have succeeded in beholding in the soul the beauty of self-mastery, the serpent of Moses, and through beholding this, beholds God himself, he shall live."²

The imagery of our amulet is more Hellenized, less Biblical than that of Philo. Instead of the brazen snake raised aloft by Moses, we are reminded of the nocturnal brilliance of the Dragon in the sky. But the astral serpent is surely only a new symbol for this same power of the Lord to save men from sin, which was proclaimed to Moses in the wilderness: "And it shall come to pass, that every one that is bitten, when he seeth it, shall live."³

CHARLES H. KAHN

2.

Time and the diligence of the Rabbis have combined to efface every vestige of a popular heretical Jewish Gnosticism. Therefore, when a monument of such a movement is discovered, we must of necessity have recourse to the knowledge we have of the Christian Gnostics of the first centuries of our era.

Professor Erwin R. Goodenough has shown the Jewish amulet from the de Clercq Collection (which he published in the July 1958 issue of this journal) to have certain marked Gnostic affinities, and he has employed the knowledge we have of the rites of the Naassenes to explain certain of the designs on this object. It is clear, however,

² E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, 2 (New York, 1953), 266, citing Philo, *Legum Allegoria*, 2. 76-81.

³ Nu. 21. 8.

that the amulet does not derive from the Naassenes themselves, but rather from some Jewish sect which incorporated some of their teachings, and, as Professor Goodenough suggested, probably revered the snake of the second chapter of Genesis as the bringer of divine Gnosis to man.

I should like to suggest that there are some aspects of the amulet which are not due to the Naassene Gnostics, but rather to that sect of Simonians which Tertullian mentions as still existing in his time. It is noteworthy that whatever the relationship between Simon Magus himself and the *Megalè Apophasis* preserved for us under his name by Hippolytus in the *Refutatio* 6.9, 3-18, 7,¹ it seems likely that Hippolytus established a connection between the two, that is, if the *Megalè Apophasis* does not come from the Simonian school, just because there is no mention of redemption or of Christ in the *Megalè Apophasis*, where the important divinity is ἡ ἀπέραντος δύναμις, (i.e. Simon himself, if it is identified with ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ καλουμένη μεγάλη in *Acts* 8,10) also called ἡ ἐβδόμη δύναμις. It is well known that the two main figures of the Simonian system were Simon himself and the prostitute Helena, whom he identified with the divine Ennoia.²

Moreover, while Simon was identified with the "seventh power," Helena was originally a moon-goddess,³ and continued to be that in the Simonian system even after she had become the divine Ennoia, and so the mother of the archons of the Pleroma, the creators and rulers of the material world. If this modification of the Gnostic myth lies behind the figures represented beside the Zodiac on one of the main faces of the amulet, it becomes possible to relate the opposition of the seven bosses underneath the sun, arranged so that the seventh receives a special place outside the order of the first six, and the one below the moon to the seven archons of the planets and to the divine Ennoia, identified in Eustathius with the *σεληναία ἄνθρωπος*, respectively.

In relation to the Simonian myth, the tower pictured on one of the beveled off corners of the amulet (Fig. 6) could very well represent the *πύργος* from which Simon rescued Helena, also identified with the tower of Troy from which Helen shone the light to the attacking Greeks, and with the prison of the soul (Helena-anima).⁴

¹ *Refutatio Omnium Haeresium*, ed. Paul Wendland in *Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, Hippolytus, 3 (Leipzig, 1916).

² Cf. Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* 1. 23. 2.

³ Cf. G. Quispel, *Gnosis als Weltreligion* (Zurich, 1951), 64ff. and Eustathius, on the *Odyssey* 4. 121.

⁴ Might the *cheth* above the tower also perhaps stand for *hodesh*, the new moon?

It would be surprising for a Jewish-Gnostic sect of the third century, approximately, to have absorbed certain Simonian elements as well as Naassene ones. Although the snake played no part, as far as we know, in the Simonian rites, the Naassenes identified their highest god with the horn of the crescent moon as well as with the horn of the one-horned bull,⁵ and the connection between the snake-god and the moon-goddess was not far to seek for the syncretist.

We may note too that according to Hippolytus a sect closely related to the Ophites and the Naassenes, the Peratae, placed the snake within the Zodiac, or rather, "in the great ἀρχή of heaven" where the stars neither rise nor set (*Refutatio* 5.16, 14). This does not of course exclude the identification of the snake within the zodiac as a symbol of Apollo, although the divine snake of the Naassenes was identified with him whom "those who live about the Haemus call Corybas,"⁶ and thus may derive from the same Dionysiac sphere from whose worship the basket in the amulet seems to come. The vine in figure 3 may derive from the same ritual.

Figure 4 of Professor Goodenough's photographs of the amulet shows four heads with their chins facing the center. It seems to me that this representation is to be taken closely with the Paradise scene of figure 8. Four heads naturally suggest the river which "went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted and became into four heads." Together with the angel Naas, these four ἀρχαί appear in the fragment of the Gnostic Justin in *Refutatio* 5. 26, as evil principles.

For the Gnostics, and for the Naassenes in particular, the eating of the fruit of the tree of knowledge symbolized the attainment of the Gnosis necessary for redemption. In figure 8 Adam and Eve and the tree are flanked by the letters *cheth* and *daleth*, which if read together as the Aramaic *chad*, "one", may help to clarify the Gnostic conception of the events in the garden. According to Genesis, a man and wife "shall be one flesh." For the Naassenes, the universe appears in the symbolic form of the man who is at once male and female, and through Gnosis, in which all opposites were to be reconciled, the individual would himself encompass all contradictory principles.

If then the letters inscribed on either side of the Paradise scene in our amulet do stand for unity, they would represent that unity of opposing principles which is the result of the Gnosis the snake is in the process of imparting to Eve, not only the Gnosis of good and evil that Professor Goodenough mentions but the ultimate Gnosis of the original undisturbed state of the universe to which man might return

⁵ Hippolytus, *op. cit.* 5. 9,8: ἐπουράνιον μηνὸς κέρασ Ἑλληνὶς σοφία (sc. σε καλεῖ).

⁶ Hippolytus, *op. cit.* 5. 8, 13. For the Corybantes in a syncretistic, Bacchic environment, see Strabo, 5. 3. 7.

if he became conscious of how evil had been introduced into the All.

It is obvious that the interpretations I have given are not incontrovertible. Nevertheless, I think that Professor Goodenough is right in assigning the amulet to a Gnostic milieu, albeit to one that does not conform to the description of any one known Gnostic sect. Moreover, this seems to be one of those magical charms that have always emanated from popular, non-philosophical circles open to wide influences, so that it is not out of place to record those reminiscences of contemporary religious ideas which appear on it.

DANIEL E. GERSHENSON

3.

In the first number of *Greek and Byzantine Studies* Professor Goodenough published an extremely interesting amulet from the de Clercq collection.¹ His brilliant explanation of its symbols — as reflecting a form of gnosis cognate to that of the Naasenes, but here without apparently Christian elements — seemed to the present writer undoubtedly correct. It could, however, have been carried further.

On the astronomical face of the amulet the isolated boss outside the circle of the zodiac and below the horns of the crescent moon, almost certainly, in that context, represents a star (not a planet because the seven planets are represented, as Goodenough pointed out, by seven bosses on the other side of the circle). From Hippolytus² we learn that the Naasenes allegorized the primal (androgynous) man or universal soul as the pole star, because he it is about whom all things revolve and who causes their movement. He is properly located outside the cosmos, as this star on the amulet is outside the zodiac, though he descends into it when involved in the process of creation.³ The myth of Endymion was allegorized to show that even the moon and the other celestial bodies had need of the soul, and on the amulet this star is placed opposite the crescent, of which the arms extend toward it.⁴

On one of the smallest sides of the amulet is represented, as Goodenough explained, the Dionysiac basket, which contained the serpent which was the symbol of the deity. Goodenough says "the

¹ E. Goodenough, "A Jewish-Gnostic Amulet of the Roman Period," *GBS*, 1 (1958), 71ff.

² Hippolytus, *Philosopheumena*, V. 8 (ed. E. Miller [Oxford, 1851], 114; ed. P. Wendland [Leipzig, 1916], 95).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 107, Miller; pp. 86f., Wendland.

⁴ *Idem.*, V. 7, 98-9, Miller; p. 81, Wendland.

basket is in two parts . . . and the lower part is larger, boat shaped, with seven little bosses on it."⁵ Rather, the basket is represented as on a boat, and the boat is identified by the seven bosses as the cosmos, the seven planetary spheres. (We have just above seen the seven bosses, with this significance, on the astronomical face.) That the deity is borne or throned on the celestial spheres, is a widespread notion in this sort of material.⁶ That the cosmic spheres which bear the deity are here represented as a boat may reflect Egyptian tradition (the boat of the sun god) and so *perhaps* suggest the source of the amulet.

The four heads on one end of the amulet may be the four winds, which appear as the cortège of the saviour deity in the Naassene frescoes of the Viale Manzoni tomb, where they are also represented by four heads.^{6a}

Finally, the main inscription.⁷ The bevel which otherwise runs around it seems to be lacking on the right side. In the upper right corner there is a line, level with the top of the first preserved letter (*resh*) and running to the edge of the stone; it looks like the top of another letter, possibly of another *resh*, of which the vertical line has been lost by cutting down the stone on that side (when the bevel, too, was lost). How much was cut away is uncertain. At the right of the bottom line, beside the *peh*, there seems to be a small mark which might be either the edge of the bevel or a corner of a lost letter. It looks more like the latter and if we suppose that one letter has been lost at the bottom, one letter and a fraction of another might have been lost at the top. The size of the stone would hardly allow for the loss of more.⁸

This would yield as the first six letters ערר שחר, "awakener of the dawn," which might have behind it a reference to the mysterious awakeners of the serpent Leviathan in Job 3.8 (where the same

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 80.

⁶ See the references collected in my article, "The Image of God," *Bull. of the Jn. Rylands Library*, 40 (1958), 510f.

^{6a} J. Carcopino, *De Pythagore aux Apôtres* (Paris, 1956), 135f. and Plate 8.

⁷ Shown upside down on Plate 3, p. 72, of Goodenough's article. I here discuss it as if it were right side up, i.e. "top line" means *bottom line* of the print, "upper right corner" means *lower left corner*, etc.

⁸ In support of this I note that the borders around the astronomical face of the stone especially seem to have been cut for a stone of slightly different shape, and in particular, if the inscription was on the vertical side beneath what is the bottom of astronomical face as printed, and if the tops of the letters were toward the astronomical face, then the angle of the cut off corner which would have been the *resh* is much more oblique than any of the others and suggests that *that* face may have been recut, for one or another reason, with some loss to the adjacent inscription.

verb is used), the serpent being interpreted as the dawn not only because it was an accepted symbol of the sun god,⁹ but also because of the Hebrew phrase **שחר אעירה** in Pss. 57.9 108.3 (where also the same verb is used).

These were translated by LXX, "I shall awake at dawn," by the Targum, "I shall awake for the morning prayer," but they could mean, "I shall awake the dawn,"¹⁰ in which case it would be natural to take "the dawn" as an epithet of the deity who is the object of the following praise and of the immediately following verb,¹¹ who is elsewhere in the Pss. exhorted to awaken¹² (with the same verb), and whose "awakeners" (still the same verb) continued to perform their function in the temple until prohibited by Johanan the High Priest (John Hyrcanus, 134-104 B.C.).¹³ If this interpretation be correct the following letters will be a spell for "awakening" (securing the attention of) the deity, here represented as a serpent.

MORTON SMITH

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

⁹ So on amulets, see E. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, 2 (New York, 1953), 247f., 261-7; also C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets* (Ann Arbor, 1950). 142f. and 154.

¹⁰ This is the translation preferred by the Standard Revised Version.

¹¹ **אעירה שחר אורך בעמים יהוה**.

¹² Ps. 44.24, **עורה למה תישן אדני**.

¹³ Mishnah, Ma'aser Sheni 5.15; Sotah 9.10.

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